

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

AMONGST STUDENTS :

A SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY  
IN ATHENS AND EDINBURGH

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To all those who have lived  
through what I am trying to  
understand in this study



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## DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is entirely my own work

## A B S T R A C T

The purpose of this thesis has been to examine the relationship of certain demographic and personality variables to political activity amongst University students in Athens and Edinburgh. Political activity has been conceptualized and measured as a multi-dimensional phenomenon. Three factors emerged and were used cross-culturally for its analysis: 'political interest', 'political commitment', and 'political protest'.

The demographic variables examined in relation to political activity were the following: gender, age, father's occupation, type of study, residential background, and club membership (only for the British sample).

The personality variables examined were: locus of control, values, politico-economic ideology, authoritarianism, self-evaluation, parental - and family-evaluation, self-parents similarity, interests, and perception of political participation.

For the measurement of the independent variables mostly standard instruments were used, although some new ones were also constructed as well, i.e. for the measurement of

political activity, interests, and political perception. The standard instruments used were: the Internality-Externality Scale by Rotter, the "Value Survey" by Rokeach, the Radicalism-Conservatism Scale by Nettler and Huffman, the F - Scale, and the Semantic Differential Technique.

Two statistical analyses of the data were performed. A regression analysis for the examination of different degrees of political activity, along the three dimensions of activism; and a Discriminant Analysis for the examination of the differences amongst the three types of political activity.

Cross-cultural similarities as well as differences emerged in the way in which the independent variables related to different types and degrees of political activity. However, most of these relationships were in the direction suggested by the already existing literature on student activism, and the socio-historico-political context of the two cultures and their national characteristics.

## INTRODUCTION

## INTRODUCTION

The present thesis focuses mainly on the structure of political activity of university students. Different types and degrees of political activity, placed in different socio-political contexts, are studied from a psychological point of view.

Interest in political behaviour is not new in psychology. It arises both from conditions of political tranquility and of political turmoil. In the present case it arises from the observation of the second condition and the wish for the first. Coming from Greece it is difficult not to be interested in politics. Moreover, having been a student in Greece it is difficult to ignore the different forms and expressions that political interest and political action can take. Equipped in this way it seemed natural in my case to undertake a study of the structure of student political activism.

Psychologists have repeatedly studied political behaviour. In the early years political behaviour, as the object of psychological inquiry, consisted mainly of political attitudes and voting. For example some of the classics in this field dealt with anti-semitism, prejudice, radicalism-conservatism, and voting decision-making.

Adorno, et al., in 1950, published "The Authoritarian Personality". Their studies focused originally on anti-semitism,

but later they were extended to cover anti-democratic attitudes in general. Their effort consisted of relating these attitudes to deeper personality characteristics and explain them through psychoanalytically based motivational patterns.

Allport (1954) published an extensive study about "the nature of prejudice". It was a psychological analysis of the roots of "negative ethnic prejudice" as a generalized attitude. Allport recognized and tried to allow in his analysis for the effects of historical, cultural and economic factors. He claimed that no single cause of prejudice was possible, but that all factors interacting for its genesis did so through the personality of every single individual. Thus, the psychological study of prejudice was necessary, if group tensions were ever to be rationally controlled and group relations to be ameliorated.

Eysenck, in 1954, in "The Psychology of Politics", studied radical versus conservative attitudes. He tried to relate these to personality as well as to sociological variables. He offered an explanation of radical-conservative attitudes based on social learning theory.

Rokeach (1960) was concerned with the cognitive style of social and political attitudes, in contrast to the previous researchers who were concerned with the content of these attitudes. He put forward a theory of dogmatism, claiming that this was a better way of conceptualizing general authoritarianism. He



argued that the way in which beliefs and disbeliefs were held was more important than what these beliefs or disbeliefs were.

A different approach to the study of political behaviour was undertaken by Hyman (1959). He treated political behaviour as 'learned' behaviour. He focused on the socialization process through which individuals learn how to behave and how to orient themselves in the political sphere.

Campbell, et al. (1960), brought psychology closer to the realities of political life. They concentrated on voting decisions and they tried to account for them by the use of political attitudes. They examined attitudes towards the parties, the campaign, the political effectiveness of the citizen and his duty to participate.

But it was not until the rise of the student movement that social psychologists turned their attention to what people were actually doing in the realm of politics, and the way in which they were participating in it. What was in the mind became clearly distinguished from what was happening in the real world. Although both were considered as aspects of political behaviour, political attitudes were to be distinguished from political activity.

The intense political activism of the students came as a surprise to all those who had been studying the political attitudes of students until then. It had been unpredicted and its intensity

was puzzling. Psychological explanations of the personal motives of student activists, social-psychological determinants of activism, sociological and political explanations of protest, were all offered towards the understanding of this phenomenon. The crisis atmosphere which it created in universities is reflected in most of the studies that took place at the time. In the middle of a protest situation in a university psychologists, together with other social scientists, were collecting data with the hope of offering a psychological explanation of what was happening. The urgency of dealing effectively with the protesting students gave rise to most of the studies of that period. The haste, however, with which they were prepared and the 'hotness' of the atmosphere in which they were carried out limited the extent of their theoretical sophistication and their relevance to the already existing literature on this topic. However, there are a few authors who have contributed enormously to our understanding of student activism and whose work dominates both in quality and sophistication. The present thesis owes a lot to the overall work of Brewster Smith, Norma Haan and Jeanne Block, Kenneth Keniston, and Richard Flacks. On its theoretical background it also owes a lot to the work of the political scientists Fred Greenstein, and Robert Lane. Finally, on the empirical investigation it comes closer to the work of Larry Kerpelman.

Smith, Haan and Block (1970) collected data during 1965-67 at the University of California, Berkeley. Their main contribution to the study of activism lies in their "typology of

student orientations toward political-social action". They classified students into constructivists, dissenters, activists, conventionalists, and inactives. Constructivists engaged into social service activities and some protest activities; dissenters engaged only in protest activities; activists engaged into social service activities and even more so in protest activities; conventionalists engaged very little in both types of activities while they were fraternity or sorority members; and finally, inactives engaged in no activities and belonged to no political or social organizations. Their studies examined, (a) the quality of moral reasoning, (b) the socialization practices of parents and (c) the social characteristics as well as some psychological features associated with these five political-social orientations. Their findings warn against treating all politically active students as a homogeneous group.

Keniston's contribution to the study of student activism lies in his definition and extensive study of the "alienated". Before the onset of the student movement, Keniston (1965) did a qualitative study of 12 "alienated" students at Harvard. Alienation was defined in cultural terms and included both social and political alienation. With the onset of the student movement Keniston distinguished between "alienated activists" and "alienated inactivists". The common characteristic of these two groups is their rejection of traditional societal values. What distinguishes them is their outlook for the future and their attitudes towards parents and family. Activists are politically optimistic, socially

concerned, and identify with many parental values. Inactivists are pessimistic and too firmly opposed to 'the system' to wish to demonstrate their disapproval in any organized way. They have disparate social and political values from their parents. Keniston is a proponent of a sociological explanation of student protest. He sees its roots and its justification in the de-humanization of our society by the increased technological progress. Youth's protest is a struggle for identity and integrity in the face of the gradual loss of human values.

Flacks (1967) collected data in 1965-66 in the University of Chicago. His studies were amongst the very few where data were collected from the parents of the participants themselves. The main purpose of these studies was to analyze the relationship of student activism to demographic variables and personality characteristics of the protesters, as well as their value orientation and that of their parents.

Flacks' contribution lies on the emphasis he placed on the family as being the key factor in producing the protest-prone individual. His explanation of student protest takes account of the broader social context in which protest took place. It is based on an extension of Eisenstad's and Parson's theory of the effects of social change on the traditional institutions of society. More specifically, what these authors have proposed is that a sharp disjunction occurs between the values of traditional families and the occupational spheres of a modern industrial society.

This disjunction gives rise to self-conscious youth subcultures and movements. American middle class families, however, have managed to incorporate the societal values into their family values and thus no sharp disjunction occurs. Flacks (1967) suggested that there might be some families who have not achieved this integration of values and these must be the families who produce the protest-prone individuals. His data supported this hypothesis. The activists were of an élite family background. They experienced a conflict between the values they acquired in their democratic, permissive and egalitarian families and the values that predominated in the occupational sphere. This conflict was viewed by Flacks as being at the roots of student protest.

Kerpelman (1972) made a careful study of political activism. He used a wide range of socio-psychological variables in explaining political activity. He distinguished between the correlates of activism and the correlates of ideology, taking at the same time account of the various institutional settings where the data were collected. His study focused on, (a) different levels of activism, (b) different ideologies, (c) differences between left activists, all activists, and all leftists, and (d) different educational institutions. He made a comparison of demographic, ability, personality, and value characteristics amongst the different groups of activists.

It is interesting to note that at the time when psychologists started introducing more and more sociological and social-psychological

variables in their studies of political behaviour, political scientists started to introduce more and more purely psychological variables in their accounts. Greenstein and Lane are representative of this trend in the field of political sciences. Greenstein's (1969) contribution lies in his effort to clarify theoretically the link between political behaviour and personality characteristics. He was deeply interested in the influence of psychological characteristics on behaviour, which he considered as being the mediators between environmental stimulus and political response. He considered political decisions as being partly based on assumptions about the psychological characteristics of the people involved in them. If these decisions are ever to be firmly made on realistic grounds, the investigation of all psychological assumptions involved in them should be undertaken by political scientists and psychologists.

Lane has been primarily interested in the psychological roots of political participation. His theoretical and empirical work argues for a positive relationship between psychological health and political participation. From data collected from a random sample of citizens "in an Eastern industrial city" Lane (1959) found that psychologically disturbed people were over-concerned with their inner conflicts so as to have spare energy to get involved in politics. Lane's concern has been with the rational functioning of man. In the case of politics this signifies the use of politics in a way that will maximize long-term advantages. The study of political personality - defined as "the enduring,

organized, dynamic response sets habitually aroused by political stimuli"<sup>1</sup> - will hopefully assist to the process of more rational political participation by men.

Keniston (1973) undertook the task of reviewing the literature on student activism. He states that some of the main methodological faults in it are: (a) the homogeneous treatment of all 'activists' as being a uniform political group; (b) the disregard for the issues that gave rise to each protest; and (c) the lack of realization that sociological factors interact with psychological factors in order to explain political activity.<sup>2</sup>

The present thesis constitutes an attempt to consider these points in analyzing political activity. Its particular characteristics are the following:

(a) Political participation is conceived not as a continuum of activism-inactivism but as a multi-dimensional phenomenon. It is claimed here that both different types and different levels of activity can be discerned and studied separately from each other.

Keniston adopted a continuum of alienation-activism; Flacks of activism-inactivism; Kerpelman used the dimension of political ideology in conjunction with activism - inactivism; Smith et al. defined types of social in conjunction with political activity; but none of these authors, who contributed to our understanding of the complexity of political activity, studied



both degree and type of political activity, nor defined types of political activity only in political activity terms.

In the present study a multi-dimensional definition of political activity, in activity terms, is first theoretically and then empirically made. More specifically, three dimensions of political activity are proposed. These are: political interest, political commitment, and radicalism in political activity. Each one of them is conceptualized as being relatively independent of the others and each one of them is characterized by various degrees of intensity.

(b) This is a cross-cultural study of the relationship of socio-psychological variables to political activity. The two cultures studied differ in many and important ways between themselves. Most significantly, both the political content and the political context are different.

This might pose the question "how much can be attributed to culture as an explanatory variable?" But this is rather the problem of focusing on differences between the results from the two cultures. The present study focuses on the similarities between the two cultures. This is done on the assumption that when a set of relationships between two or more variables are replicated in different cultural settings, then the truth of these relationships is more firmly established. Thus it is cross-cultural truths that the present study is concerned with, rather than cross-cultural



differences. Cultural differences are discussed before the empirical evidence is presented, and independently of the findings of this study. When cultural differences are found in the results of the present empirical analysis they are attributed to more general cultural differences only if they fit into the framework of differences discussed in the preceding socio-historical analysis of the two cultures.

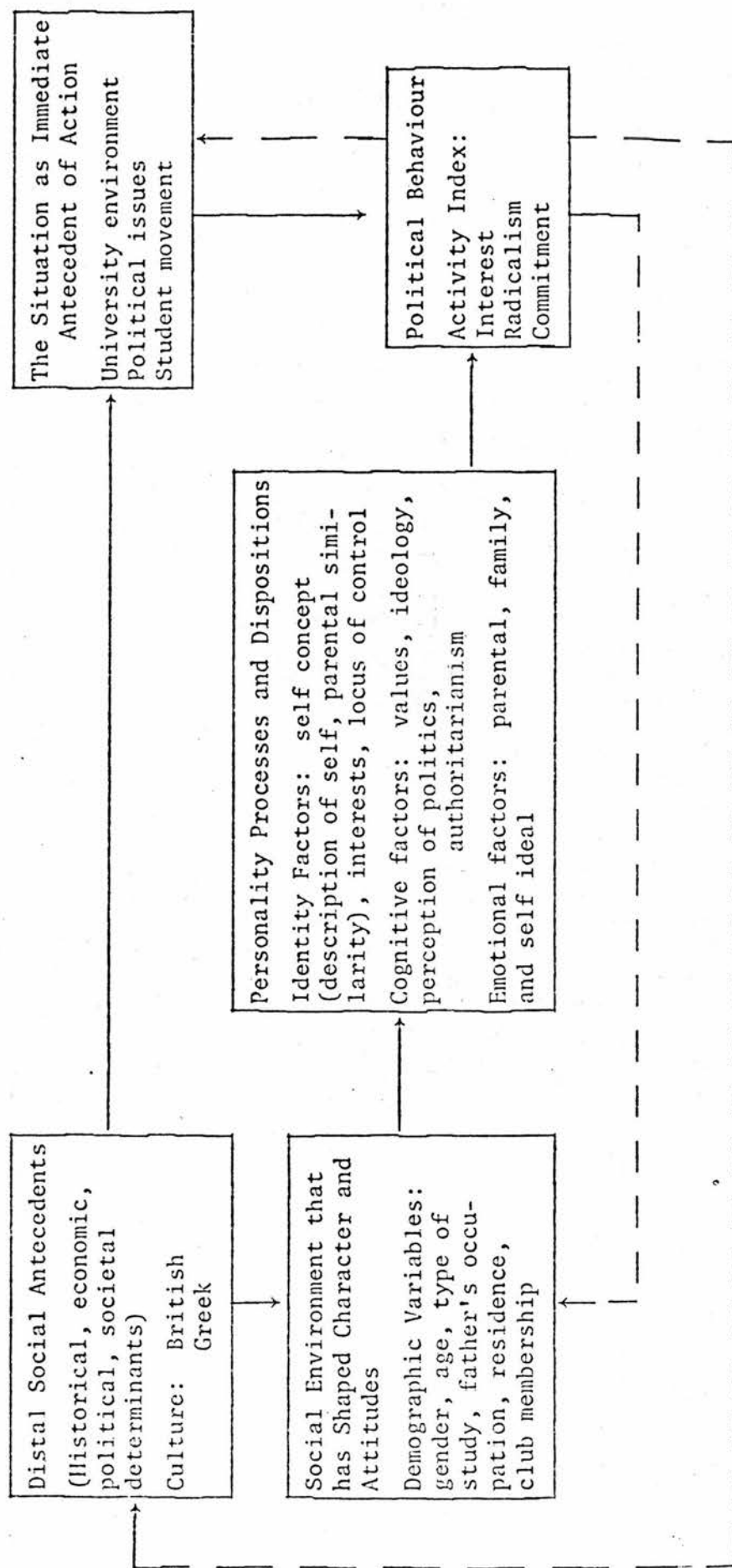
(c) The statistical analysis of the data will have to answer the question "of what use are psychological variables in explaining types and levels of political activity?" In other words, how can we distinguish activists from non-activists as well as one type of activist from another in terms of their psychological characteristics? After all this is primarily a psychological study and the analysis of political participation is made mainly from a psychological point of view. Demographic variables are used mostly as a control variable, to guarantee homogeneity and comparability of the samples. Their effects on political participation are measured so as not to confound psychological influences. The historical and the political perspectives are brought in, so as to place the relationship of psychological variables to political behaviour in context.

(d) Finally, the results of this research can not easily be generalized beyond the samples from which they are drawn, since the samples were not representative of any population. However, an effort was made for the selection of balanced and non-extreme

(in any sense) samples. Their characteristics have been described and their possible effects on the results have been considered. The interpretation of the relationship of psychological characteristics to political behaviour takes account, whenever this is judged as appropriate, of these possible effects. As a result it is believed that the findings of the present thesis hold true for the student population of the two countries, whenever the two samples are not suspected of considerably deviating from the general picture of this population.

The structure of the present thesis, both in its presentation and in its theoretical sequence, follows a model proposed by Brewster Smith for the analysis of political behaviour.<sup>3</sup> Figure 1 presents a simplified and, adapted to the purposes of this study, version of his model. In the upper part of each box are the general categories of variables that he has suggested as being important for the study of political behaviour. In the lower part of each box are the specific variables examined in this study. What Smith says, in a summarized form, is that political behaviour is the result of the situation in which one finds oneself before the action takes place, one's personality, one's social characteristics, and the larger social environment where one belongs. These variables are also characterized by interrelations amongst themselves. For example, personality affects and is affected by political behaviour, the perception of the immediate antecedents is also affected by political behaviour, and so are the social characteristics and possibly the larger social and political system too.

FIGURE 1 : A model of the theoretical relationship of socio-psychological variables examined in relation to political activity



Adapted from M.B. Smith, "A Map for the Analysis of Personality and Politics", *Journal of Social Issues*, 1968, 24, pp.15-28.

Smith's model has been adopted for two reasons mainly. First, because it constitutes an interdisciplinary approach to the study of political behaviour, without at the same time losing the centrality of the psychological contribution to it. The central place that 'personality' occupies in the model is consistent with the interest of a psychologist in politics. It does not mean that psychological factors are the most important determinants of political behaviour; it simply implies that the model is constructed from a psychological perspective in the study of political behaviour. This is important because the present study is undertaken from a psychological point of view in the belief that psychological variables can contribute to the understanding of political participation, together with the variables examined by the rest of the social sciences.

Second, 'personality' is conceived as consisting of attitudes and other 'deeper' personality variables functionally related to each other. The functional approach to personality and its relation to behaviour is favoured because it strikes a balance between a mechanistic and an irrational model of man. In the study of psychology and politics it allows for the greatest degree of dignity and rationality of the political actor. This is important because political activity, in the present study, is conceived as being the result of both cognitive and emotional factors - leaving aside for the moment the sociological and historical variables. The basic assumption is that, in a given political situation, the decision as to whether to engage in

politics or not, and the choice of a particular form of political participation, are made on the basis of one's perception of politics and one's psychological make-up. Thus, they are not made on purely logical grounds nor on purely illogical ones. Perceived necessity to participate and a personality favouring one type of action over another, or perceived necessity to act in a specific way and a psychological need to participate, interact to produce the type and degree of the political behaviour observed.

The specific variables that complete this model in the present study are the following:

(a) The political behaviour to be analyzed consists of the political activities of two groups of students, one from the University of Edinburgh and one from the University of Athens. An effort was made for the two samples to contain both activists and non-activists, of all political ideologies. The samples were matched on most of the demographic variables. Political activity is measured by a total of 20 items, especially constructed for this study. These items cover interest in politics in the sense of following the news and talking about politics, moderate activity and participation in political events, and finally membership in, and commitment to, a political organization.

(b) The immediate antecedents of political behaviour are, in this case, (1) the university environment where the students find themselves, and (2) the major political and student issues

at the time. Much has been said about the effect of the university structure and conditions of teaching upon the radicalization of students and the provision of issues for protest.<sup>4</sup> In this case both university environment and major political and student issues are characterized by sharp differences in the two cultural groups. Although it is not possible in this study to assess their different impact upon political behaviour, they constitute nonetheless the criterion against which findings of the relationship of political behaviour to personality will be tested for their ability to be generalized.

(c) Personality processes and dispositions involve two things:

- (1) the person's attitudes that relate to his political behaviour; and
- (2) the way in which these attitudes are developed and sustained.

The relationship of attitudes to behaviour is a complex one. Attitudes interact with situational variables to produce the behavioural outcome they do. It is impossible to predict in advance which attitudes will be involved in any political situation, and how these will relate to the situation and consequently bear upon political behaviour. All that can be done is to study how this complex process occurs and what results it produces.

The relationship of attitudes to other personality variables is for Smith a functional one. Attitudes are prejudgements developed according to one's motives, interest, values and

inner psychological conflicts. They help a person in his encounters with reality, in the maintenance of his self-concept, and his ego-defense.

The personality variable is analyzed here in three factors: identity, cognitive, and emotional factors. This structuring of personality is advanced by Stone (1974) and it is applied on Smith's model by him.<sup>5</sup> In this study the following variables are examined under each factor:

(1) Identity factors:

The self concept of the individual, i.e. the way in which he describes himself, the similarities he reports between himself and his parents, his interests in life, and his basic belief in self as an agent of what happens to him.

(2) Cognitive factors:

His values, his politico-economic beliefs, his perception of politics, and his authoritarian versus egalitarian attitudes.

(3) Emotional factors:

His evaluation of parents, family, and self.

The choice of these particular variables is dictated by (1) the purpose of this study, which is to study the character of the students in relation to political activity, rather than their

socialization experiences, or political socialization in the family and the school, or deep seated motives for political participation, etc. These variables constitute, undoubtedly, part of the individual psychology but lie beyond the scope of this work. (2) By the already existing literature on political psychology, where most of these variables have been reported to be significantly related to activism or inactivism. And, (3) by the reasons that render this additional study on student activism legitimate - as these have been previously described.

For the measurement of these variables there have been used mostly standard instruments. None of them was standardized for the Greek population, however an effort was made for good translation equivalents to be produced. All self, parental, and family concepts, as well as perception of political participation, have been measured by the Semantic Differential Technique; belief in self by the Internality-Externality scale by Rotter; values by The Value Survey by Rokeach; politico-economic ideology by a Radicalism-Conservatism scale by Nettler and Huffman; authoritarianism by the F Scale; interests, and political perception by two sets of items constructed especially for this study.

(d) The aspects of the social environment that affect character and attitudes studied here were demographic variables such as: gender, age, father's occupation, residential background, type of university study, and club membership. These particular variables have been included because they have been repeatedly



found to be significantly related to political participation. The isolation of their effects from the effects of personality variables is deemed desirable.

Other demographic variables such as living with parents or not, parental education, mother's occupation, family income, religion, etc. are also significantly related to political participation. The choice as to which ones to consider here has been made on two grounds: (1) only those variables judged as relevant to both cultures would be included; and (2) the minimum of demographic variables would be measured, since the questionnaire was completed anonymously and subjects should remain as unidentifiable as possible.

(e) Finally, the larger political and social environment includes the British and the Greek culture. The different social and political histories of the two countries will place political activity in context and will help in interpreting its relation to the rest of the variables. The different cultural character of the two populations will affect the patterns of relations between political behaviour and personality variables. The two cultural settings are expected to allow for different patterns of relations to emerge. For example, in the case of strong social pressure to activism, i.e. Greece, more accentuated inactivism relations are expected, while in the case of no social pressure to activism, i.e. Britain, more accentuated activism relations are expected. In other words, it must take more of personality influences to remain

an inactivist in Greece or to become an activist in Britain under the sociopolitical conditions of the time.

The presentation of this thesis follows the above exposition of variables roughly in a reverse order. It is divided into three parts. Part One refers to the Distal Social Antecedents and the Immediate Antecedents of Action. It is divided into two sections. Section one contains a brief history of the two countries and a description of the way in which people in each country typically deal with politics. Then the implications about the relationship of personality variables to political activism are drawn, as well as the hypotheses specific to the present study.

Section two refers to the student movements in each country. The Governmental policies that concern the students directly, the aspects of the educational system that affect them the most, the University conditions, and the problems with which students deal are described. Also a brief history of the student movement in each country is provided.

Part Two contains a review of the literature for the variables examined in this thesis, and the hypotheses about the relationship of these variables to political activity. It is divided into three chapters.

Chapter two refers to the concept of political participation. It describes the way in which this is defined and measured in this thesis.

Chapter three contains a review of the literature of the relationship of the demographic variables studied here to political activity.

Chapter four contains a review of the literature of the personality variables examined in this study. It refers to the way in which they are defined and measured as well as to their relationship to political activity. The order in which the personality variables are discussed is the order of their importance as this is inferred from the findings in the literature, in association to the order in which they appear in the model for the analysis of political behaviour. In other words, starting with the variables in their order of presentation in the model, the most significant ones are discussed first. The variable of political perception is discussed last because it is for the first time introduced in the literature.

Finally, it states the hypotheses about the relationship of political activity to the demographic and personality variables examined. The hypotheses are made on the basis of the findings reported in the literature and the cultural context described in the first part of the thesis.

Part Three describes the empirical study. It is divided into five chapters.

Chapter five contains a description of the way in which the questionnaire was prepared and the data were collected. It also contains a description of the two samples in terms of their demographic characteristics.

Chapter six describes the factor analysis of the Political Activity Index. According to the results the hypothesis of its multi-dimensionality is corroborated and a description of the three factors used to account for political activity in the present thesis follows.

Chapter seven refers to the preliminary analysis of the data. It describes the way in which some of the data were transformed to produce various scores for the variables measured. It also contains an analysis of the relationship of values to political activity.

Chapter eight contains a regression analysis for the three factors of political activity. Six separate analyses are reported, one for each factor in each country. The variables that form important relationships cross-culturally, with the different degrees of political activism, are depicted and their relationships in each culture are examined.

Chapter nine reports the results from a discriminant analysis. The data are analyzed in order to find a factor which will combine the independent variables in a way that will best discriminate amongst various types of political activists. Six discriminant analyses are reported, three for each country.

Finally in the Conclusion a summary statement about the relationship of personality to political participation in each country is made, on very general and interpretative grounds.

## INTRODUCTION

## FOOTNOTES

1. Lane (1972) p.5.
2. In his review of the literature he excludes, from the above mentioned faults, the work of Smith, Haan and Block, Flacks, and Kerpelman. (He also excludes the work of A. Astin, not reported above.)
3. B. Smith (1968) and (1974) pp.45-53. Discussed also in Greenstein (1969), and Stone (1974).
4. See E.E. Sampson (1967) and D.R. Brown (1967).
5. Stone's analysis of the personality variable has been preferred because it can incorporate the variable locus of control. Smith (1974) recognizes the importance of this variable for its implications on political behaviour and admits that no place was made for it in his model.

PART I

THE TWO CULTURES

CHAPTER 1 :

THE ANTECEDENTS OF POLITICAL  
BEHAVIOUR



## PART I

### THE TWO CULTURES

#### CHAPTER 1:

#### THE ANTECEDENTS OF POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR

##### A. DISTAL SOCIAL ANTECEDENTS

Historical, economic and political factors provide the wider context in which political behaviour can be better understood. The combination of these factors in the concept of 'culture' brings them closer to psychological theory and research, and their relation to 'national character' makes them indispensable for the analysis of cross-cultural political behaviour and personality characteristics. Here, under the heading 'distal social antecedents', some aspects of the political culture of Britain and Greece will be described.

Political culture is to be distinguished both from culture in general and national character in particular. "It (culture in general) includes all the characteristic activities and interests of a people"<sup>1</sup>; while political culture "is a culture relating to the political sphere"<sup>2</sup> and covers the characteristic ways in which a particular people deal with politics.

As defined by Pye:

"Political culture is the set of attitudes, beliefs, and sentiments which give order and meaning to a political process and which provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behaviour in the political system . . . A political culture is the product of both the collective history of a political system and a life history of the members of that system, and thus is rooted equally in public events and private experiences." <sup>3</sup>

(1971, pp.84-85)

Finally, national character "refers to relatively enduring personality characteristics and patterns that are modal amongst the adult members of the society"<sup>4</sup>. National character serves the needs of a particular society and it constitutes its 'socially required personality'.

Thus, political culture is less general than culture or national character and confines itself to things relevant to the political realm. Here, as mentioned above, some aspects of it will be described for both Britain and Greece, in the hope that the relationship of personality to political activism will be placed in context, so that a better understanding of it will be possible. In particular I shall refer to important historical trends which constitute part of the cultural heritage of each country and which show an essential link to what constitutes characteristic ways of dealing with politics. In accordance with the previous definition of political culture, no assumptions will be made

as to whether the specific psychological characteristics of a people is the result or the cause of its history and social structure. It is assumed that both variables are in a dynamic relationship to each other and that the origins of their interaction are most probably lost in the long history of each people.

### 1. Britain<sup>5</sup>

Britain is a comparatively homogeneous nation. Religious, ethnic and social differences have not, up to now, fundamentally disrupted the homogeneity of the country. It has enjoyed integrity and insulation for centuries, to an extent that no other European country has had. It has been characterized by a stable, representative government throughout the years. Modernization was achieved without revolution and within the constitutional framework. It was a gradual, slow process of assimilation of the traditional and the modern. This is why it is difficult to state with accuracy when Britain was transformed into a modern state. Many 'modern' elements existed since the 16th century and more were added in the 19th and 20th centuries.

The history of Britain in the 20th century evolves around two main themes. The first concerns its international relations, i.e. its transformation from "the industrial and commercial heart of a world-wide overseas empire" into a member of a Commonwealth. The second concerns its internal affairs, i.e. its development from a "liberal-capitalist

"economy" into a Welfare State<sup>6</sup>. These happened gradually without damaging the British political framework which is characterized by moderation and commitment to the democratic process. (Hanson & Walles 1970).

Within this political framework individual political participation - which mainly concerns us here - is not hindered. On the contrary this is well organized and there are well established rules of the political game to which one is socialized, should one want to participate in the political process, (Finer 1963).

Administrative issues are distinguished from political issues. The latter are less easily accessible to individuals and are usually approached through party channels. In Scotland and Wales, however, the nationalist movements which present demands for independence tend to emphasize the interrelationship of administrative and political issues. But their success in persuading the people about it is not yet complete, (Hanson & Walles 1970).

The climate that prevails in Britain however, is that individual contribution to the decision-taking process is very small. People are more concerned with the efficiency of the system and the two-way communication with the government rather than with individual political action.

At times an ambiguous attitude of belief in political innovation and belief in the weakness of the innovatory power of the government prevails. This mixture of hopefulness and dissatisfaction, however, has up to now led to an alienation of the masses from politics, rather than to their activation in the hope that they can contribute to a better management of the situation, (Hanson & Walles 1970). More specifically these two authors write :

"Indeed, it can be argued that, for most of the people most of the time, political participation is either unwanted or impracticable. The desire to live a private life, devoted to non-political activities which are of inherent interest, is very widespread. The acquisition of an intellectual grasp of the major political issues is a burdensome exercise, beyond the capacity of the majority, even in a comparatively highly educated country."

(Hanson & Walles 1970, p.287)

After this brief introduction to the political trends in Britain a similar introduction to the political trends in Greece will be made.

## 2. Greece

The history of modern Greece evolves around two basic themes, intimately related to each other. These are the development of the Greek national identity and the independence of the Greek state from the Ottoman Empire.

What will follow here is a short summary of some of the most important events in the history of modern Greece, in order to describe what is typical of this country.<sup>7</sup> (This summary has been based on Svoronos 1976).

Ancient Greece was absorbed by the Roman Empire. Greeks were integrated in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire, the Byzantine Empire. With the weakening of the Byzantine Empire the Greek national identity started to strengthen. Greeks, divided in many administrative units, started to gather around their local leaders and started to plan the liberation of 'Greece' - which was occupied mainly by the Franks - with the ultimate purpose of re-establishing the old Greece and governing it, each local unit for its own sake.

Gradually after 1821 some areas were liberated. But the shaky existence of modern Greece as a new state needed both a strong government and national unity. Unfortunately the Greek government, instead of submitting to the interests of the country, tried to secure its own position in power by asking help from the West to be directed towards the government as a group of individuals rather than as a representative body of the country. This first happened in 1827. Britain first and France and Russia later, who had an interest in defeating the Ottoman Empire,

undertook to help Greece to gain its independence and develop its economy. These Great Powers, as they were called, established monarchy in Greece in 1833 and offered financial assistance. This resulted in a state of affairs where the government had to serve the interests of the 'benefactors' rather than the people, in order to remain in power. Things continued, until 1909, in a circular motion of bad governments, economic problems and unsatisfied popular demands for independence of the rest of the country. In 1909 the army organized itself in a progressive movement which asked a liberal politician from Crete, Venizelos, to come and govern the country. Venizelos established more freedom for the people and organized the legal system of the country. Eventually, during the First World War, he had to revolt against the King because of the way he was handling the external affairs of the country and forced him to leave Greece (1917). But dissatisfaction was growing in Greece as a result of an international economic crisis, the First World War and the inability of the government to solve the problem of the liberation of the rest of Greece. The King was brought back with the consent of the people who were by then exhausted from the Balcan wars and the war in Asia Minor. But the army interfered once more. Venizelos returned and the King left once more (1922). The next time that the army interfered was against Venizelos and with the support of the King. The King was brought back in 1935 and the

· next year a dictatorship was established.

The Second World War enabled the Greeks to fight for their liberation again. They fought to free themselves not only from the Germans but from the dictatorship and the foreign intrusions in the economy and the politics of the country. But this resulted in a civil war. The USA army put an end to it and assumed the responsibility of assisting Greece in its effort to establish political and economic stability. Yet, 1967 brought a dictatorship which lasted until 1974. These main historical events set the following socio-psychological scene : The continuous bad governing of the country and the obvious and contradictory interference in the internal affairs of the country from abroad, reflected to the person of the governor and trust in him was gradually lost. Loyalty has been to the common idea of Greece, with which up to now no government has managed to identify in the minds of the people (Svoronos 1976, Filias 1976). Thus the state authorities are mistrusted and perceived as taking personal advantage of the power they have been given by the people.

The sense that things are controlled from above and the belief that foreign forces interfere drastically in the politics of the country are usually attitudinal correlates of apathy and feelings of powerlessness. In the



· Greek case it is faced by the readiness of the people to rebel and to try to take the power into their hands. It is a strange combination of a pessimistic attitude with a non-defeatist behaviour.

Sensitivity over issues of nationalism makes Greeks very emotional in political debates. One has constantly to prove that one is a nationalist and a patriot, and that one loves one's country. Political debates are very threatening because they question the bases of a shaky national identity and thus they tend to take place at an emotional rather than a rational level of argumentation, (Legg 1969).

After this brief introduction to the political background of Greece the relevance of these socio-historico-political trends to the present study will be discussed.

### 3. Psychological Sketch

In the light of the foregoing analysis of the historical and social psychological context in which the two communities, Britain and Greece, operate, it may be useful to try to draw conclusions about the ways into which their populations are expected to relate to the specific psychological variables examined in the present thesis.

The picture of British people - in terms of the

variables of authoritarianism, political ideology, political activism, values and locus of control - as derived from the previous analysis of the British political culture, is as follows:

British people regard authority with respect and accept it for the most part, they are moderate in their political beliefs and their political activities, they place a high value on freedom and other welfare and humanitarian principles, but not on equality, and they have a weak belief in the power of the individual to affect political decisions, but they do believe in the pressure power of various interest and promotional groups.

The picture of Greek people, on the other hand, is as follows :

Greek people have an ambiguous attitude of submission and rebellion towards authority, they tend to form extreme beliefs on some political matters while remaining indifferent to others, they are easily involved in political activities, they value freedom and democracy for their country as a whole, but they do not practice these values in their everyday life, and they believe in the ability of the individual to affect the political affairs of the country, at least in principle and under the condition that the government does not use unconstitutional means to suppress it.

## B. IMMEDIATE ANTECEDENTS OF ACTION

The political behaviour of students, as studied and measured in this reaseach, must be seen not in isolation, but in the context of the 'student movement' to which is belongs and of which it is a part. The 'student movement' as a general term refers to the mass political activities of students very common in the last decade, that took place mainly in the campuses, concerned issues of an academic nature as well as governmental policies, claimed and/or bore major political implications. It was often characterized by violence either on the part of the students or the authorities, and had an air of leftism ranging from mild liberalism to communism. The 'student movement', although an essentially international phenomenon, bears unique characteristics in every country. The common characteristics of the 'student movement' in different countries are many and justify the use of the term across nations. But the individual characteristics are also many so as to require a separate description of the student movement in Britain and the student movement in Greece.

### 1. The Student Movement in Britain

#### (a) University Conditions

University conditions are not perfectly homogeneous. Universities have grown as the result of different politico-socio-educational forces and each one of them has responded

to the needs that created it. In spite of their differences however, some general principles do apply to all universities in Britain.

First, British education experienced a large expansion during the decade of the '60's. The government having accepted the recommendation of the Robbins Committee Report implemented a long-term plan of expansion of higher education. Student numbers increased with a very high rate of growth and reached the levels suggested by the Robbins Report much before the expected dates.<sup>8</sup>

Second, with rare exceptions, academic freedom and independence characterize the universities in Britain. The curriculum is not under ministerial control and the ongoing research, although under the distal control of its financing sources, is carried out according to the interests of the researchers.<sup>9</sup>

Third, student representation exists in all universities. However this is not a settled matter for either the students or the university authorities and demands for increased student representation are still made and pursued.<sup>10</sup>

Fourth, the atmosphere that prevails in British universities is usually one of liberal attitude in which the problems of university-students relations can be solved in

a peaceful and dignified manner. Committees are usually set up to face the problems that arise so that representatives of the interested parties can have a personal contact and come to an agreement.<sup>11</sup>

Fifth, the students have a rather close contact with the staff, both because of the tutorial system and the ratio of student-staff which, although increasing, is still better than in other countries.<sup>12</sup>

Lastly, the students do enjoy a degree of freedom in the university in pursuing both their academic interests (i.e. options in courses) and their personal interests through the various clubs and societies they can join or create.<sup>13</sup>

#### (b) History and Organization of the Student Movement

"Far from being international, 'protest' conforms to the tradition of the country. Within this group British student 'revolt' was unique in its mildness and absence of deaths."

(M.A. Rookee 1971, p.10)

##### 1) British Universities in General

Although several outbursts occurred in various universities in Britain, the student movement here did not reach the extremity that it did in other countries. Moodie & Eustace write : "There seems little doubt that, in a

rather undramatic way, student participation has been quietly working rather well in many universities, worthy rather than newsworthy" (1974, p.206). The students did not have the acute problems of representation that they did in other countries, nor did they receive a violent and repressive response from the state or university authorities. (G.C. Moodie & R. Eustace, 1974).

The British student movement is characterized by greater organization than elsewhere, greater concern with student finance and facilities rather than political issues, and educational concerns such as student assessment, academic freedom, etc.<sup>14</sup> It shared with the international student movement the demand for higher democratisation of higher institutions but found itself in a more advanced position on this matter from the start. (G.C.Moodie & R.Eustace, 1974). It also shared in the basic anxieties of students created by the international economic crisis of the last years, i.e. the possibility of unemployment or underemployment, and the insecurity of the degree. About unemployment the University Grants Committee report of 1967-72 states that: "The proportion of first degree graduates who were recorded as still seeking employment in December of their year of graduation rose slowly from 3.4 per cent in 1967 to 4.1 per cent in 1969 and 5.4 per cent in 1970". (1974, p. 25).

Finally, the students here identified with the students from other countries who critically considered all

aspects of their society and shared in their desire and effort to change it. (E. Ashby & M. Anderson, 1970).

## 2) The University of Edinburgh

### a. The Students

The University of Edinburgh is one of the largest universities in Britain. It offers a great variety of degrees both undergraduate and postgraduate and research facilities. It attracts students from many different countries and the great majority of its students come from middle-class homes<sup>15</sup>. Twenty-five per cent of the students live in University accommodation and 12.5% in rented accommodation owned or managed by the University. The proportion of students who live at home is 26.1%<sup>16</sup>. Yet at the beginning of every academic year there is a housing crisis. In 1974, 400 students were put in temporary residence and that was the mildest case of the last four years<sup>17</sup>.

Radicalism is practically non-existent in Edinburgh. The students in their majority are apolitical and unconcerned even with purely academic or administrative issues. The Students Association General Meetings hardly ever reach the 300 attendants required for any decision to be taken, the most usual number being 20<sup>18</sup>. Absenteeism is common even in the S.R.C. meetings. The Conservatives have the leading role in the University and they stand for

moderation, no political action, no action outside the university, and non-violent means. The centre is apolitical and concerned with welfare issues and negotiating activities with the university authorities. The left is politically-minded but weak and it usually makes extreme demands. It is also split and opposes the Student Association<sup>19</sup>. The students in general seem to have no clear idea of what the important or relevant issues are here and remain practically alienated from them<sup>20</sup>.

The students seemed to have gained some interest in university affairs in 1974 when their second student rector was in office and were led into mass action. But this soon died out and the students did not vote for a third time for a student rector.

The University appears to be split in two, if not more parts, between King's Buildings and George Square. The students of Science in King's Buildings are completely isolated from the rest and during the last years they have made attempts to officially separate altogether.

The common impression here in Edinburgh is that, notwithstanding the many facilities offered by the University and the number of students gathered here from all parts of the world, something is missing which would make the life



of the students complete and integrated. The administration has been repeatedly accused by the 'Student', the newspaper of the student body, as being mainly responsible for the alienating atmosphere one encounters here. It has been said that it (the administration) 'does not care for the student', that it is not representative and that it is not democratically elected by the community at large to hold this role. But this can not be the whole story by any means.

#### b. The Issues<sup>21</sup>

The main issues, of some political implication, were issues supported by the N.U.S. The students took some action regarding the Housing Crisis and participated in the Grants Campaign. They held meetings, some of which had large attendances, and they decided on passive occupation. A small number of students occupied University idle property and turned it into student accommodation. After this negotiations followed with the University authorities and some of this property was finally offered to the students. Some time later the students refused to pay the increase in rent asked by the University. The University charged the students £1,000 for damages during the 'rents campaign' which the S.R.C. refused to pay. In 1975 there was a rent strike, and during 1976 rents remained one of the main issues for student action.

In 1974 there was a national effort for university

students to unite with the students from colleges and polytechnics in a common campaign against discriminatory grants and education as well as cuts in grants. But the Grant's Week Action in Edinburgh was attended by only 40 people. There were boycotts and demonstrations organized but they proved a disaster. A Grants Campaign organized by the N.U.S. for the whole of Scotland was more successful (4,000 students attended). In 1975 a Cuts March organized in collaboration with other unions in Edinburgh was also relatively successful (1,000 attended of which 200 were students).

There was some action, in 1974, against the cuts in the University facilities. A picketing was organized for the cuts in the library hours. Some more protests were made in 1975 about the fact that the University did not replace academic and non-academic staff after leaving.

In 1975 the University saw some more exciting turmoil. The rector of the University who happened to be a student<sup>22</sup> gave, for publicity, a confidential list of the University's investments in apartheid South Africa, which the University had previously officially denied having. A petition was signed for the University to make public its investments and withdraw those in apartheid. Although these demands were only partially fulfilled, the issue has completely quietened down. The next rector to be elected after these events was not a student and the decision of

the University to cancel the policy of allowing students to run for rectors has been passed without resistance from the students.

The last main issue was membership in the N.U.S. In 1975, when suggestions regarding disaffiliation started to be made, a motion was passed to stay, but in 1976 the decision made by the students was to part.

It seems that in 1976 students nationwide have made a shift to the Right. In Edinburgh the students voted out the Left in the 1976 student elections. They now seem to prefer the politics of negotiation and moderation, which the Conservatives can offer and they do not want direct political action. They are more concerned with the opening of a night centre, for example, the sabbatical time of students, and the functioning of the nursery. The students here have not joined the new turmoil going on in some other universities in Britain and especially in the colleges of education, which as some claim joined the '60's tradition just before its end, or as some other say signify the beginning of a new student mobilization.

## 2. The Student Movement in Greece

### (a) Governmental Policies

Universities in Greece, as well as the whole educational system, are under the close supervision and direct

control of the ministry of education. Thus, changes of governments, and even more so of political system, affect directly the universities.

Greece was under a military dictatorship from April 1967 to July 1974. The present study took place in July 1975 and, since it covers two years of student political activism, it includes the last year of dictatorship and the first year of restoring democracy.

It goes without saying that the general measures of oppression that the military regime took impinged upon the freedom of the academic world and resulted in the retardation of all cultural developments. The universities were directly affected by the general measures taken by the government in its effort to keep itself in power and by the specific policies it made concerning the students and university life. According to these policies student unions, elections and assemblies were all banned.

During the first year of democracy, after the fall of the military regime, the student unions and elections were left free to operate again and a process started of eliminating the pro-junta professors from the staff and the various pro-junta non-student elements from the student body.

#### (b) The Educational System

Structurally the Greek university consists of

several faculties. These faculties are called schools, which in themselves do not form departments but consist of a number of 'chairs'. Each 'chair' corresponds more or less to each course that is taught in every one of the schools. The professors are responsible for their 'chairs', and have absolute power in them. They do not come into any dialogue or personal contact with the students, notwithstanding some rare exceptions of course. There is no communication or collaboration across the 'chairs' within the schools either in academic projects or the programme of the school. Lately there has been a strong movement on the part of the 'assistant' staff to have a voice in the administrative decisions of the school and the selection of new professors and staff. This has been achieved in some schools. Moreover there is a growing pressure upon the government to change the whole structure of the university by creating departments and thus put an end to the absolute power and isolation of the 'chairs'. The students for their part strongly support this movement and demand, furthermore, student representation in the decision committees of the schools.

Entering the university in Greece is a true ordeal. High school education is inadequate and never covers the material one is examined on in order to enter the university. For this reason during the last one or two years of high school the university candidates attend, over and above their school classes, evening courses in private institutions

for three hours every day. In these institutions they are prepared for the entrance examinations to the University. About 75,000 students take these examinations every year and 60,000 of them remain outside the universities because the number of successful candidates is prearranged by the government before the examinations. This means that 20% succeed every year, of the remaining 80%, 40% look for a job with their high school certificate, 15% leave to study abroad, 15-20% turn to technical or higher education, and 5% try to enter the university for a second time<sup>23</sup>. This tendency to go abroad makes Greece the country with the highest number of students abroad, both in absolute numbers and percentages. This has strenuous economic implications for the country as well as creating professional imbalance. (See Tables 1 and 2).

TABLE 1 : University Students Abroad during the Academic Years 1971-72 or 1972-73

Country of Origin of the Students	Students Abroad: Absolute Numbers	% of the total Student Population of the Country of Origin
Greece	19.414	26.2
United Kingdom	13.038	2.2
France	9.423	1.4
W. Germany	8.979	1.4
Italy	9.633	1.2
Spain	3.563	1.0
Portugal	1.093	2.0
Turkey	5.478	3.4

It should be noted here that in 1975 the number of Greek students studying abroad had increased to 30.000 and those studying in Greece to 90.000<sup>24</sup>.

TABLE 2 : Distribution of Students according to type of Education during 1972-73

	Science	Social Sciences, Arts, etc.
Greeks in Greek Universities	41.1	58.9
Greeks abroad	88.5	11.5
Greeks in both Greek Universities and abroad	47.0	53.0

As seen from this Table during 1972-73 the percentage of students studying Science abroad is more than double than that of the students studying Science in Greece. Both Tables are taken from two articles by M.G. Drettakis in the newspaper 'To Vima', 21/11/76 and 23/11/76. His sources he reports to have been UNESCO, The Statistical Yearbook, 1974.

### (c) University Conditions

University conditions are not homogeneous. Here I shall talk about the University in Athens since all of the students who participated in this study were attending it, and because whatever is said about the University in Athens

is also true to a lesser degree about the rest of the Greek universities.

Greek students have both problems of living and studying. The government or the University do not provide good accommodation and eating facilities. The students, when they come from provincial towns do not live with their families, and have to find accommodation by themselves and cater for themselves. It is not unusual for them never to 'visit' the university, except during the examination period, either because it is not required, or there is not enough room, or because the consequences are not so grave since their absence is hardly ever noticed due to the large numbers of students relative to the number of academic staff, or finally because they work full-time elsewhere.

The students do not pay fees and books are distributed free of charge. Although some of them are badly done and written, by the professor who teaches the relevant course, and although the system of their distribution is not always as efficient as it should be, the principle is a positive one and together with the absence of fees has laid the basis of democratic education for all classes in Greece.

There is no organized non-academic life. The University does not finance nor encourage clubs or student activities. There are practically no places where the students



can meet in the University and engage in collective activities or entertainment. The only developed form of extracurriculum activity is the existence of 'local societies' as they are called. These are clubs established by the students coming from a particular area of Greece outside Athens and are named after this territory. There the students meet to talk, to organize collective activities and to entertain themselves. During the dictatorship these 'local societies' acquired a strong political, anti-junta colour and they were amongst the first to demand free elections in their bodies. The other type of societies that exist are the student councils. Each school has one student council for each of its years of study. Both the 'local societies' and the student councils collaborate in the student movement.

#### (d) History and Organization of the Student Movement

In 1972 the first signs of rebellion were seen in the universities with the onset of the period of 'normalization',<sup>25</sup>. The students ignored and ridiculed the appointed student representatives and rumours about the future elections were received with a protest-prone attitude.

The student demands for free elections and liberation from the junta appointees continued and this brought to the surface revolutionary ideas, leaders, and important political issues. In this process the 'student committees' were

formed which were in essence struggle committees working in an organized and cooperative way for the development of the student movement, the radicalization of more students and the open expression of the anti-junta feelings prevailing at the time.

The following academic year, 1973-74, started with demands for general assemblies and free elections. It led to "the events of the Polytechnion" in November 1973. During these events the students stayed in the University buildings for three days and nights. Their protest in the beginning was about student issues. Gradually, it developed into political protest with the demand of the fall of the military regime. This permitted the expression of the anti-junta feelings of the general public of Athens. "The events of the Polytechnion" ended with the invasion of the army in the University buildings and the fall of the government the next day. The old military regime was replaced by a new one. The new government discovered and destroyed all clandestine student political groups by Easter 1974. However, in July 1974 it resigned in face of the internal problems of the country and the events in Cyprus. It asked for a democratic government to be formed and rule the country.

With the restoration of democracy and the legalization of the Greek Communist Party, the student movement

started to live openly again. The shift to the left was great and stable as can be seen from the results of the student elections in Table 3.

TABLE 3 : The Results of the Student Elections in Athens in 1975 and 1977

Organizations		1975	1977
PSK	(related to the Greek Communist Party)	6805	7992
DA	( " " " Communist Party of the Interior)	4550	5813
PASP	( " " " Socialist Party PASOK)	7901	6049
DAP-NDKF	( " " " Conservative Party - now in power - 'New Democracy')	3979	3180
Dimocratiki Poria	(( " " Liberal Party EDIK)	799	696
PPSP	(Marxists - Leninists of the extreme Left)	1104	1046
AASPE	(related to the Marxist Party EKKE - of the extreme Left)	928	1208

The results were similar all over the country. The total number of students who voted in the 1975 student elections was 40,216, and in the 1977 elections 47,000, which constitutes over 50% of the total student population in the country.

Source: Newspaper 'To Vima' 6/2/77.

The various political organizations are represented in the EFEE<sup>26</sup> analogously to the results of the elections. The task of the EFEE is to promote student interests and the issues it has dealt with since 1974 are the following: to expel those professors who sympathized with the junta, to ensure the academic asylum and the independence of the university curricula, to fight for better standards of living and studying, to abolish the university entrance examinations, to participate in the administration of the universities, to fight obligatory syndicalism which the government wants to impose upon students so as to gain the support of the apathetic ones, and finally to unite the fragmented student factions. But the EFEE has problems in implementing its goals. Problems arising not only from the government or the university authorities but from the body itself. The various political factions of the student body are now mostly patronized by the different political parties. The academic issues are used by them for their own political purposes so that agreement on a common tactic for their solution can not be reached. The EFEE can not adequately represent them and their policies backfire. Ultimately one suspects that the various political factions, for antagonistic reasons, do not desire the immediate solution of the student problems because they believe that a suitable atmosphere for the solution of these problems will prevail only when they come into power. The EFEE finally can not cooperate with the government either, which it accuses of 'submitting in capitalistic tactics'. Thus fundamental problems remain

unsolved until some time in the future<sup>27</sup>.

The basic mistrust that prevails in Greece comes forth every day in the form of questioning the basis of everything. The governmental policies are questioned, the purpose of education is questioned, the interests that the various political personalities and parties serve are questioned. The every day struggle is directed into answering these questions, into filling these gaps which constitute the country's ever present problems, while the student demands broaden their focus again away from the university problems to the problems of Greek sovereignty and independence.

### 3. Conclusion

A table summarizing the university conditions and the state of the student movement in the two universities has been prepared. It is presented here as a concluding comment to this section.

TABLE 4 : Summary Table of the Comparative Immediate Antecedents of Political Behaviour in the two Countries

University of Edinburgh	University of Athens
Conservative Climate Politics are remote from student issues and the connections are usually difficult to perceive. Few problems. Apathy.	Radical Climate Politics and University problems are one. Many problems and easy participation.

## CHAPTER 1 :

### FOOTNOTES

1. Eliot (1972), p.31.
2. Pye (1971), p.84.
3. Pye (1971), pp. 84-85.
4. Inkeles & Levinson (1954), p.983.
5. 'Britain' refers to what is officially named 'The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland'. 'Great Britain' is the term used for the union of Scotland with England and Wales. (From Macridis & Ward, 1963, p.20.)

This study took place in Scotland and most of the participants were of Scottish origin. Scotland despite its edycational, religious and legal uniqueness has a political culture similar to the English one in its fundamentals. The present analysis of the British political culture does not differentiate between England, Scotland and Wales but it refers to the general and common aspects of all three. Thus the term 'Britain' is used here as a simplification of the term 'Great Britain'.

The present analysis of the British culture is based on the work of D. Thomson 1974, A.H. Hanson & M.J. Walles 1970, G. Gorer 1955, R. Rose 1969, B. Wootton 1971, E. Zureik 1974, A. Sampson 1971, R.M. Punnett 1968, A. Mathiot 1958, J.G. Kellas 1973, S.E. Finer 1963, G.A. Almond & S. Verba 1963, A.H. Birch 1967, B. Jessop 1974, and A. King 1966.

6. As described in Thomson (1974), p. 18, in his book used as a textbook by the Open University in 1976-77.
7. For an excellent brief account of the history of modern Greece see N. Svoronos (1976) and for an equally valuable analysis of politics in modern Greece see K. Legg (1969). For an effort to relate main historical trends to personality characteristics of the Greeks see Vassilion and Triandis in H. Triandis et al. (1972). For the present analysis the following books have also been consulted: P.Terlexis (1975) and V. Filias (1976).
8. The Robbins Committee set a target of 204.000 full-time students for 1971-72. In autumn 1967 there were 200.287 full-time students and the predictions for 1971-72 were 220.000-225.000 students. In fact, the number of students grew to 235.000 by 1972. (UGC, University Development 1967-1972, p.65 and 1962-1967 pp. 54,65).

9. UGC, University Development 1962-1967.
10. For an extensive discussion of the issue of student representation in British universities see E. Ashby & M. Anderson (1970), V. Droucopoulos (1976), K. Jacka, C. Cox & J. Marks (1975), D. Jacks (1975), and G.C. Moodie & R. Eustace (1974).
11. G.C. Moodie & R. Eustace (1974).
12. According to the UGC 1967-1972 report the full-time staff to full-time student ratio has changed in the following way:

	No. of students per full-time staff member
1956-57	7.8
1961-62	7.9
1966-67	7.8
1970-71	8.2
1971-72	8.1
13. For a comparison of the conditions in European universities with those in British universities, see Encounter, July 1968, Vol. XXXI, No. 1, (eds) Melvin J. Lasky & Nigel Dennis, pp. 20-44.
14. The NUS was accepted by the government "... as an important and established interest in the sphere of higher educational policy-making..." (Moodie & Eustace 1974, p.204). See also E. Ashby & M. Anderson (1970) describing the difference between the political nature of other European student bodies and that of the NUS.
15. Blackstone et al. (1970) report that it has the lowest percent of students from manual backgrounds 15%, after Oxbridge 7%, with the national being 25%.
16. University Bulletin, Feb. 4, 1977, Vol. 13, No. 7.
17. 'Student', the University student magazine, 17 Oct., 1974.
18. The 'Student', 3 Oct., 1974 and 17 April 1975.
19. The 'Student', 24 Oct., 1974 and 30 Oct., 1974.
20. For example, in 1976 when the referendum for the NUS took place and the result was to disaffiliate, it was mainly first year students who voted. No one knows exactly what their motivation for voting was. The political clubs of the University were unable to agree on a common stance on this issue, not amongst themselves but in themselves.



21. The students who participated in this study did so in February 1976. Questions were asked regarding their activities up to two years back, which means that if they were at the University at all it was in 1974. Thus a review of the main issues that concerned the students from 1974-1976 will be presented here. The review is based on evidence presented in the 'Student' as well as on discussions with students who were personally involved in the referred issues.
22. The first time a student was elected for rector in Edinburgh was in 1969 and the second in 1972. In 1977 the University decided not to allow students to be elected for this office.
23. Spoudastiki Protoporia, 11/11/'75, p.6, (magazine of the youth section of the Pannellenic Socialist Party - PASOK, the opposition party).
24. As reported in 'To Vima' 19/6/'77.
25. This refers to the period that the military regime decided to gradually restore democracy and freedom in the country and eventually lead Greece to free elections again.
26. The Greek NUS.
27. For the description of the problems that the students are dealing with now and the problems of the EFEE in implementing its goals, the sources used were: (1) 'To Vima' 19/6/'77 and 21/6/'77 which contained an extensive review of the student movement in Greece. (2) 'Thourios' 14/7/'77 a student magazine related to the Communist Party of the Interior, and (3) 'Epikera', a weekly magazine of general interest, 10/7/'75, pp.35-49, which contained a review on the student movement and its major participants.



PART II

THE REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

AND THE HYPOTHESES

CHAPTER 2 :

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

## PART II

### THE REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND THE HYPOTHESES

#### CHAPTER 2 :

#### POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

##### A. DEFINITION

The political behaviour of university students has been extensively studied since the onset of the 'student movement'. The attention of all those concerned with this phenomenon was drawn to the political activities of the students by the extreme nature of these activities and the crisis situation that they created. As a result most of the psychological studies, at least, focus on what might be defined as 'radical activists'. Even when this name is not used, or when the meaning of the category 'activists' is not made explicit, radical activism is almost always implied. For example, Keniston (1967) writes:

"[t]he defining characteristic of the "new" activist is his participation in a student demonstration or group activity that concerns itself with some matter of general political, social or ethical principle. Characteristically, the activist feels that some injustice has been done, and attempts to "take a stand", "demonstrate" or in some fashion express his convictions."

[p.111]

In the studies of Flacks (1967) student activists were selected from the mailing lists of various civil rights, peace and student movement organizations and from participants in a University sit-in.

In the study of Smith, Haan and Block (1970) activists were arrestees in the Free Speech Movement.

Kerpelman (1972) distinguished between left activists and middle activists. Left activists were involved in issues and tactics outside the student government ones, whereas middle activists belonged to the student government organization.

Finally Wood (1974) defines student activism as follows:

"[s]tudent political activism is generally defined as the engagement by students in non-institutionalized political activities, such as illegal demonstrations against the Vietnam War, illegal civil rights protests, strikes, sit-ins, and other similar activities. This form of political activity is to be distinguished from institutionalized political activity of students such as student government."

[p.2]

Very few studies have been conducted outside a radical atmosphere and very few studies have focused on the general political behaviour of students, independently of ideology and beyond the limits of group activity. Because the interest of most researchers has been in differentiating the 'activists' from the rest of the students, political activity has been defined in demonstrative

terms and it has been perceived as a continuum ranging from inactivism to moderate-activism to radical-activism. This over-concern with radical activism, or left-wing politics has for the most part overlooked conservative activism amongst students and political interest which is not associated with overt political action. However, a more accurate picture of student political involvement would be gained if all aspects of it were studied. In this study, which is not concerned with any of the problems that acute student activism creates in a university setting, there is no need to focus on radical activism alone. Instead, the political behaviour of students is examined in all its forms. This is why the name 'political participation' has been chosen instead of 'political activism'. Political participation refers to any type and degree of political involvement and concern with politics, from listening to the news to being a member in the governing body of a political organization. In addition, it is claimed that political activity, considered in the broad way that it is here, is not a simple continuum of activism-inactivism but a multi-dimensional phenomenon. If it were a continuum it would mean that a radical activist would also be involved in moderate activism and have a great amount of interest in politics. On the other extreme the inactivist would have no interest and no activism whatsoever. But on the basis of everyday observation it can be claimed that there are radical activists who engage only in radical political activities without exhibiting any further interest in politics, or without participating in moderate forms of political activity.<sup>1</sup> There are also radical activists who are

not committed members of a political organization and other radical activists who are. There are moderate activists who are or are not committed members. There might also be committed members who are not involved in direct action but are engaged with administrative tasks and have an intense interest in politics.

On the basis of such observations it is proposed here that political activity can be more fully accounted for by three independent aspects of it. These are thought to be interest, means engaged in, and commitment.

Political interest covers such activities as listening to the news, reading the editorials in newspapers, discussions about politics and maybe attending meetings where political speeches are made, and finally expressing one's opinions about political issues.

The means through which one pursues one's political goals can be either common, well accepted and institutionalized or they can be disruptive, extreme and beyond the student context. Of the first type is, for example, non-militant action taken by the student body or the activities of the student councils and representatives. Of the second type are protest activities like sit-ins, occupations of buildings, strikes, and marches.

Political commitment implies a professional attitude towards politics. It includes activities such as assuming responsible roles

in political events, or working for a political organization. Political commitment might not be more time-consuming than political interest and it might not be so risky as radical activism, but it involves certainly more personal activity and long-term involvement.

These three aspects of political participation are perceived as continua ranging from: (1) no political interest to intense political interest, (2) moderation to radicalism in the means employed to attain political goals, and (3) no serious involvement with politics to political commitment. As continua, these three aspects of political activity, are characterized by different degrees of intensity. Thus a person might be very or little interested in politics, might be employing many or few radical means, and might be very or little committed to a political cause.

The above are, of course, theoretical classifications. Whether students do in fact fall into all of the different types and degrees of political activism is a matter of empirical investigation. In the present thesis empirical verification will be sought of the three aspects of political participation, and then a differentiation of types and degrees of activism will be attempted, in terms of the socio-psychological variables examined here.

## B. MEASUREMENT

For the measurement of political activity, as defined in the previous section, an instrument was required that would cover all of its forms considered above and at the same time account for intensity of action. An index of political activity was constructed for this study. Its creation has been considered necessary because, (1) no other instrument was found to cover a wide range and levels of political activity; (2) the content of political activity changes through time; (3) it also differs from country to country; and (4) the definition of political activity often varies from study to study, as the focus of each researcher causes him to look at political activity in terms relevant to his objectives. Thus, from reviewing the already existing scales of political activity, some items were chosen that were thought to be relevant both to the political activities of students in Britain and Greece and to the aspects of political activity that this study focuses on.<sup>2</sup>

The items can be grouped into three categories:

(1) Those that refer to political behaviour which does not require much action or commitment, i.e. reading the political articles in the newspapers, listening to the news, discussing politics in the family or with friends, finding politics or political discussions interesting, and describing oneself as not really very active in politics, but rather interested in it.



(2) Those that refer to political behaviour which requires more than interest in politics and takes one a little bit out of one's way to achieve, i.e. participate in actions of the Student Body putting forward various demands, turn to various sources for the substantiation of one's ideas on political issues, try to convince others or offer advice on political issues, get as excited about politics as about something that happens in personal life, describe oneself as active in politics, attend political speeches, and sometimes participate in strikes, marches, demonstrations, etc.

(3) Those that refer to political behaviour that requires commitment to a particular political group, i.e. attend regularly the meetings of a political club, work for a particular organization, and hold responsible roles in political events.

## CHAPTER 2 :

### FOOTNOTES

1. These people are similar, in terms of their political involvement, to what Keniston (1967) describes as the "culturally alienated". These are described, in contrast to the "activists", as disinterested in politics and society and when participating in demonstrations as preferring peripheral roles. They are "politically pessimistic and socially uncommitted".

They are also similar to what Block, Haan and Smith (1974) describe as "dissenters". These are "specialists in protest" but have no participation in socially constructive tasks.

2. The exact items of the Political Activity Index can be found in Appendix A. The sources from which they were selected are reported in Appendix B.

## CHAPTER 3 :

### DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

## CHAPTER 3 :

### DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

#### A. GENDER

Sex differences in political activity are usually noted by different researchers. Men are usually characterized by greater degree of commitment or overall political activity, while women are usually characterized by greater degree of radicalism in their political behaviour. There are some studies, however, which report no sex differences in relation to political activism.

Watts and Whittaker (1966) in their study in the Berkeley campus, at a time of high unrest and protest activity, found women to be over-represented in the protest but under-represented in the arrest, which means that most of them left before the arrest. This can be interpreted as indicative of higher radicalism but lower readiness to take risks in politics amongst women.

Smith, Haan and Block (1970) also collected data during 1966-67 from students at Berkeley. In their sample, amongst the activists, women were the most radical of all, according to their self-ratings on political ideology.

Kerpelman (1972) collected data from three "institutions of higher education in the eastern United States", during 1968-69.

The only sex difference he found in relation to political activism was that more males were conservatives in ideology than females.

Clarke and Egan (1971), however, found no significant relationship of gender with political activity. Their data were from a representative sample of students at Florida State University in 1969. The same is reported by Gold, Christie and Friedman (1976). No differences between the sexes were found in political activity, in a sample of students from Columbia University during 1968-69.

In Britain, Blackstone et al. (1970) report that women are usually more conservative but this was not found to be the case in LSE. On the other hand, men at LSE were more politically committed than women. They report that 16% of men and 9% of women belonged to political societies.

Finally, Marsh (1977) says that in the general population men are more prone to protest and political aggression. Amongst the student population, however, this sex difference disappears. In his university students sample women were equally protest prone and politically aggressive as men.

#### B. AGE

Extremity has always been associated with youth. In politics, young age is usually associated with higher activism and radical politics.

Marsh (1977) says that, in the general population, younger people are more protest prone than older people. Students, being a young part of the general population, have this characteristic in a more exaggerated degree.

Blackstone et al. (1970) say that, at LSE, younger students reported more support for a sit-in that took place in the campus.

Watts and Whittaker (1966), in the same study reported previously, found that the members of the Free Speech Movement were younger compared with the rest of the student sample.

Finally, Kerpelman (1972) reports that activists from all ideologies tended to be younger than non-activists.

#### C. TYPE OF STUDY

It is usually students from the arts, humanities and social sciences who are active in politics rather than students of science. Alan Marsh (1977) describing a cartoon from "Punch" magazine writes:

"One is reminded of a delightful cartoon in "Punch" magazine showing two science students, test tubes in hand, gazing wistfully through their laboratory window at a political demonstration in the quadrangle below. "It's alright for these social scientists", one complains, "It's a sort of practical for them"."

[pp.202-3]

Kerpelman (1972) has challenged this common view that "activists are over-represented in the arts, humanities and social sciences". He claims that although it is true that especially left activists are over-represented and right activists under-represented in these field, the fact is that students in general are over-represented in the arts, etc. and prefer these fields in contrast to science.

Besides Kerpelman's challenge, however, the evidence from all studies is that 'type-of-study' does have some relationship to interest and activity in politics, and that students from the 'soft' sciences are more left-wing and active than students from the 'hard' sciences.

Lipset (1968) claims that choice of field of study is one of the products rather than the causes of political attitudes. Thus students in the humanities, etc. are on the left side of the political spectrum even before entering the university, while students in more practical and applied fields are more conservative prior to entrance.

Marsh (1977), however, claims that all students start with an equal amount of protest potential but, while for students of science this amount remains constant, for students of arts, etc. it increases.

Whatever the sources of this difference between fields of study and their relation to student activism the fact remains that both in the United States and in Britain this difference is constantly reported. For example, Blackstone et al. (1970) report that sociology students were the most likely to support the boycott and the sit-in, while accounting, statistics, industry, trade, computing and geography students the least.

Smith, Haan, and Block (1970) report that activists came disproportionately from the humanities and the social sciences, while business and engineering students were under-represented amongst the activists.

Finally, Nasatir (1966), from data collected in Buenos Aires, reports the same pattern. Activists tended to come from the arts, the humanities, and the social sciences.

#### D. FATHER'S OCCUPATION

"The origins of student activists were in the economically, educationally, and socially privileged strata of American society. Whether measured by family income, parental occupational prestige, socioeconomic indices, or the amount of parental education, the families of actively committed students were more advantaged than those of other college students."

In these words Block, Haan, and Smith [1974, p.76] summarized the findings of the literature in relation to the socioeconomic background of student activists.



Wood (1974) however reports that a gradual change occurred in the socioeconomic base of the student movement. An 'opening up', or a broadening of this base occurred, with more and more students from all different family backgrounds participating actively in the movement. Thus, both Clarke and Egan (1971) and Gold et al. (1976) report no significant relationship between parental socioeconomic status and level of political activity or type of political attitudes.

Similar results are reported by Blackstone et al. (1970). Their data from LSE students did not support any of the hypotheses of the relationship of student activism to father's occupation. Also Allerbeck (1968) reports the same lack of any significant relationship between these two variables, from data collected in Germany.

Marsh (1977) claims that for Britain exactly the opposite relationship is true. Students from working-class homes - which are more protest prone anyway - are "a little more likely" to engage in protest activities than the rest of the students.

#### E. RESIDENTIAL BACKGROUND

'Residential background' refers to whether students come from large cities or small towns.

Marsh (1977) reports that, from all cities in Great Britain, London has the highest level of protest potential. Also Wales and East Anglia emerged, in his sample of the general population, as regions with high protest potential.

Flacks (1970a), reviewing the findings of the American literature concerning the socio-psychological characteristics of student activists, says that those participating in the student movement were from urban and suburban environments and from large cities. More specifically they tended ". . . to come from the East and West coasts rather than the Midwest or the South." [p.137].

#### F. CLUB MEMBERSHIP

Kerpelman (1972) noted the possible effects that organization membership might have in the results of the studies on student activism. He noticed that whenever comparisons were made between activists and non-activists the two groups were not carefully matched on various control variables. One of these variables has been club membership. All student activists were participating in an organized political group. The non-activists might have been members of nonpolitical groups and might not have been. Data on this were simply lacking. Thus Kerpelman suggested that, possibly, some of the characteristics attributed to student activists were only characteristics of students belonging to some organization. In his study he sampled non-activists exclusively from nonpolitical university organizations, in order to match the groups on this variable.

CHAPTER 4 :

P E R S O N A L I T Y   V A R I A B L E S

## CHAPTER 4 :

### PERSONALITY VARIABLES

#### A. LOCUS OF CONTROL

##### 1. Definition

Locus of control refers to the belief of an individual about the source of power and control of what happens to him. More specifically, it refers to whether a person believes that the reinforcements he receives following his behaviour are contingent to and depend upon his behaviour and his relatively permanent characteristics; or whether he believes that they do not depend upon his actions and are therefore the result of chance, luck, fate, or powerful others. The first type of belief has been named "belief in internal locus of control", while the second type of belief has been named "belief in external locus of control".

The concept of locus of control originated in "Social Learning Theory" [Rotter 1966]. In it, people are seen as operating on the basis of their expectancies of the association of a particular action with a particular reinforcement. In the course of their learning not only do they form these specific expectancies of reinforcement about particular behaviours, but they also develop a generalized expectancy about the sources of reinforcement. This 'generalized expectancy' of reinforcement can be either internal (the reinforcement is seen as dependent on one's own behaviour) or external (the reinforcement is seen as dependent on other forces).

Whatever its orientation, it is very important for the perception of any situation because it influences a person's judgement as to whether his efforts have an effect upon what happens to him or not. Its significance lies in the fact that it causes different people to perceive the same situation differently, by focusing attention to self versus external forces as causal agents.

In a summary then, according to social learning theory, people operate on the basis of their expectancies of association of action and reinforcement which are dependent upon their generalized expectancy of contingent or noncontingent reinforcement, all of which develop in the process of learning. Locus of control, stated in the above terms, is obviously of central importance to the study of behaviour viewed as a result of reinforcement expectancies and therefore of particular significance to social learning theory. Its significance however extends to other fields as well, because of its relationship to feelings about the self. Considering the implications of locus of control for one's concept of self, it can be seen that it essentially amounts to feelings of powerlessness versus effectiveness. The belief in internal control implies a belief in self as an agent of occurrences and therefore implies a sense of personal efficacy, while the belief in external control implies a belief in external forces as being stronger than self in influencing events and therefore implies a sense that things are beyond one's personal control.

"As a general principle, then, internal control refers to the perception of positive and/or negative events as being a consequence of one's own actions and

thereby under personal control. Whereas external control refers to the perception of positive and/or negative events as being unrelated to one's own behaviors in certain situations and therefore beyond personal control."

[Rotter, Seeman & Liverant 1962, p.499]

As such locus of control is theoretically related to many important concepts like autonomy, alienation, inner-, other-directedness, etc., with some of which it is empirically related, and with some of which it only shares apparent similarities.<sup>1</sup>

In any case, its relationship to many important psychological and sociological variables has brought "locus of control" at the centre of much research in learning - where it was developed - in psychopathology and social psychology.<sup>2</sup> The results from these studies indicate that internal control is associated with confidence and ability to deal with reality, better knowledge of one's position and environment, activism, high need achievement and striving for success; while external control is related to apathy, conformism, dependency, ignorance of one's environment, anxiety, low need achievement and avoidance of failure. But these results are not conclusive. The associations of Internality-Externality with the above variables sometimes fail to appear and some other times are reported to be in the opposite direction, although theoretically this has not been expected.<sup>3</sup>

Rotter had found that empirically he was justified in summing up all external forces: luck, fate, chance and powerful others, into one category of "external forces", although

theoretically they were distinct. But subsequent researchers found them empirically distinct as well and therefore questioned the unidimensionality of the concept and the homogeneity of its two poles. From then on research employing both the I-E scale by Rotter (1966) and other scales constructed each time according to the interests of the researchers for the measurement of internal-external control, has elaborated on this concept and has suggested several distinction in it, some of which will be summarized here.

According to Gurin, Gurin, Lao & Beattie (1969) people sometimes think in different terms about themselves, and about other people in general. They might have an internal belief about what happens to other people, that is see them as being under the control of other forces. Or, the other way around, see themselves as under the influence of other forces, but hold people in general responsible for what happens to them. People also differ in the degree of accepting responsibility for good versus bad things. They might have an internal belief in cases where responsibility is to be taken for success and an external belief in cases where responsibility is to be taken for failure, and therefore praise themselves in the first instance and blame the system in the second; the reverse also might happen. In such cases to talk about the person's locus of control as a generalized expectancy of reinforcement is groundless and leads to false predictions by blurring the complexities of the relationship of

internal-external control to other variables. In addition, the meaning of external control is complicated by the presence of reality obstacles controlling the life of an individual, the objective power of which has to be assessed before reaching any conclusions as to the internality-externality of a particular person.<sup>4</sup>

Hersch & Scheibe (1967), in addition to their claims for assessing the veridicality of one's expressed externality as suggested above by Gurin et al., argue that the researcher has also to discriminate between benevolent and malevolent forces and to find out to which of the two a particular person assigns responsibility for what is happening to him. Because if he believes that good forces are on his side, helping him in what he does, then in this case of externality the psychological consequences of powerlessness do not hold true as they do if he believes that bad forces control his life contrary to his wishes.

Crandall, Katkovsky & Crandall (1965), have also talked about the distinction of assigning responsibility for good versus bad things. In addition, they distinguished between external forces as being other people versus impersonal forces. Both constitute the agents of an external belief of control but the psychological consequences of the two are not the same. Other people can be brought under control and they exert their power in some ordered and predictable way, while impersonal forces are beyond anybody's understanding and influence.



Mirels (1970), analyzing the I-E scale by Rotter,<sup>5</sup> claims that there are two factors defining the targets of control. One concerns beliefs about the control over personal outcomes, i.e. what influences what happens to self, and the other concerns beliefs about the control over social-political affairs, i.e. what influences the system, which of course is similar to what Gurin et al. argue about, when they say that people sometimes think in different terms about the control of reinforcement in relation to themselves versus other people.

Levenson & Miller (1976), finally, differentiated between two types of externals. Those who believe that the world is unordered and therefore unpredictable and uncontrollable, and those who believe that the world is ordered but it is controlled by powerful others, in which case the potential of control by the individual is there. They use three dimensions to account for locus of control. The first is called 'internal', the second 'chance' and the third 'control by powerful others'. Thus, they distinguish between chance, fate and powerful others as being three distinct agents of external control, which have unjustifiably been put together, by Rotter, under the same term 'external forces' without further differentiations between them.

To sum up in Gootnick's words, recent research findings indicate that ". . . Rotter's (1966) attempts at measuring a hypothesized 'generalized expectancy' . . . have not taken into account the varieties of human behavior and experience, and the situation-specific nature of locus of control expectancies." [1974, p.56]

As it can be noticed from the quotation above and the research reported here concerning locus of control, the theoretical discussion of locus of control has not remained pure, but has included elements and findings of the operationalization and measurement of the concept. This is due to the nature of the research surrounding locus of control.

Rotter started, on the basis of his theory, with the hypothesis that a generalized expectancy about the nature of reinforcement develops for every person, in the course of learning and experiencing. He empirically found this to be the case and, on the basis of his findings and the previous literature, he constructed a scale for the measurement of this generalized expectancy. For Rotter, subsequent research with this scale bore implications for the locus of control variable, i.e. its validity, usefulness, conceptualization, etc. The findings of the research, that is, were applied to the concept without any regard for the measurement, since this had been accepted as valid and reliable.

Subsequent researchers however, due to the failure of accurate predictions by using this scale, elaborated on it, suggested new dimensions for the measurement of locus of control and, in general drew a distinction between the instrument and the concept.<sup>6</sup>

Their research with its suggestions for multi-dimensional measurement of locus of control, most importantly touches upon Rotter's hypothesis about the existence of a generalized expectancy of control. Rotter's

empirical work springs from his theoretical assumptions which justify unidimensionality of measurement, by claiming that locus of control is a personality variable in the form of a generalized expectancy of control. Suggestions for more dimensions required for his measurement imply a different conceptualization of locus of control not represented by a generalized expectancy but by many situation-specific expectancies. This new conceptualization of locus of control must be made explicit and be theoretically elaborated and clarified - which it is not - before it can guide further empirical research. Research based on it is not backed up by Rotter's theory as some researchers claim. Rotter's theory accounts for a generalized expectancy of control and if empirically this does not hold true, modifications in the theory have to be made before any meaningful and important research can be carried out.

Rotter tried to account for the failure of predictions based on a generalized expectancy of control without altering his basic assumption of its existence, by saying that sometimes it is predetermined by external forces and its power is therefore weakened.

"Specific expectancies regarding the causal nature of behavior-outcome sequences in different situations would also affect behavior choice. From social learning theory one would anticipate that the more clearly and uniformly a situation is labeled as skill or luck determined, in a given culture, the lesser the role such a generalized expectancy would play in determining individual differences in behavior."

[Rotter 1966, p.2]

If this is, indeed, the case and the generalized expectancy exists but is overpowered by situation-specific expectancies, then some of the research following Rotter must have studied such exceptional cases, where locus of control consisted of many situation-specific expectancies and as a result many dimensions were needed for its measurement. But what happens if we accept this is that by not disposing of the "generalized expectancy" variable and by assigning to it a secondary role in influencing behaviour and attitudes, while giving the primary role to situation-specific or culturally defined expectancies, we do in essence dispose of locus of control as a personality variable. Instead we deal with attitudes and beliefs based on information and experience which, after all, could be done without the hypothetical variable of locus of control.

Thus, if locus of control is to retain its role as a personality variable, further theoretical work has to be done. Lefcourt's concluding comment, when reviewing the locus of control literature in 1966, that further work is required in order to explain how the expectancies of reinforcement are generalized across different situations, can still be made today with the same urgency.

In any case, for the purposes of this discussion, I included some of these research findings and the suggestions they make for a better conceptualization of locus of control, accounting for more than one dimension of reinforcement expectancies.

The present research is carried out on the assumption that a "generalized expectancy" might not exist after all. Since evidence is not conclusive and no theoretical background exists on the basis of which to predict how many dimensions of locus of control are needed in each case, an attempt is made here to find out, through its measurement, if a "generalized expectancy" of reinforcement exists and locus of control can then be accounted for unidimensionally.

## 2. Its Relationship to Political Activity

The internal-external control of reinforcement has been used in many different types of studies, either as a manipulatory variable in laboratory experiments or a predictive variable of group or individual behaviour in various situations. It has been used in studies of need achievement and motivation, resistance to subtle suggestion, risk-taking and betting, conformity, and learning. Results constantly indicate that it can discriminate between people exhibiting different types of behaviour in the above mentioned situations. For example, high externality has been found to characterize those with a greater tendency to conform and as a result the conformer is seen as the one who has low expectancies of success in socially evaluative situations. Also externals are more sensitive to punishment than internals and it has been suggested that by attributing responsibility to external forces they might be avoiding punishment themselves. Externals finally have a disposition to avoid failure while internals have a disposition to approach success, [Crowne & Liverant 1963; Holmes & Jackson 1975, Phares, Ritchie & Davis 1968; Srull & Karabenick 1975].

What is of interest here is its use in studies of "attempts to control the environment", that is attempts of people to better their life conditions. Studies with patients and reformatory inmates, with negroes, and with workers have concluded that internals hold more knowledge about their situation and the management of the institution they belong to, and are politically knowledgeable and more active than externals, [Gore & Rotter 1963, Strickland 1965 and Lefcourt 1966]. Lefcourt concluded his review of internal-external control and its relationship to social action taking by saying that "[p]erhaps the apathy and what is often described as lower-class lack of motivation to achieve may be explained as a result of the disbelief that efforts pay off." [1966, p.212].

All of these findings reported in a summary here are in the correct direction and support both the importance of the "locus of control" as a hypothetical variable and the validity of its measurement technique. Research surrounding the political activism of college students and its relationship to internal-external control, however, presents a more complicated picture. Theoretically, externality, because of its implied belief in luck and fate and feelings of powerlessness, should have its behavioural counterpart in apathy and political indifference; whereas internality, because of its implied belief in skill and feelings of competence and need of achievement, should result in political interest and action. To quote Gootnick, "Theoretically, it would seem that political and social participation should be some of the more clear-cut behavioral correlates of the locus of control variable" [1974, p.54].

This, unfortunately has not proven to be the case.

Gore & Rotter studied a group of students from a Negro college and found that internal-external control predicted both the type and the degree of social-action-taking: "Those individuals who were more inclined to see themselves as the determiners of their own fate tended to commit themselves to more personal and decisive social action." [1963, p.62]. Strickland (1965) replicated this study and reported very similar results. The more internal subjects stated the highest commitment. Strickland concluded his study by noting that it validates the internal-external control variable, which social learning expectancy theory has offered to us, as a personality variable which can delineate social action takers from non-action takers.

Gurin, Gurin, Lao & Beattie (1969) have drawn attention to the fact that for minority groups, and in particular for Negroes, internality partly means blaming oneself rather than the system for being in an inferior socioeconomic position, which might have destructive consequences for the psychological health of the individuals concerned. Thus they decided to separate the two levels of control and investigate separately one's beliefs about what controls the self (personal control) and what controls the system at large (individual-system blame). They found that Negroes who were external in the second type of control, i.e. blaming the system for the social situation they were in, engaged in collective civil rights action and were more efficacious in general; whereas internal Negroes were characterized by self-blame and acceptance



of the existing social conditions. The first type of control, concerning one's belief about the self, bore no relationship to political activism, apart from being negatively related to racial militancy. Silvern & Nakamura (1971) studied undergraduate students at UCLA. Their findings suggested that for males, externality was associated to social-political activity, protest and left ideology, while internality characterized the 'non-left-wing nonactivists'. For females internal-external control was not significantly related to either activism or ideology; nonetheless, correlations were in the same direction as for males. These authors concluded their study by saying that "For females, as for males, there is no evidence that a sense of power encourages social-political action" [p.155].

Gootnick (1974) in a study comparing the I-E scale with a multidimensional approach measuring locus of control for ability to predict political participation of a college population, found that only one fact, namely "control over large-scale social and political events", could successfully do so. That is, only scores on the dimension of citizen control over political and world affairs could significantly predict political action, (measured as registration to vote in presidential elections). Similar findings are reported by Levenson & Miller (1976) who report only one factor to be significantly related to activism and this is the factor of assigning control to "powerful others". They found that liberals were more active when they were external on this dimension, i.e. when they believed that powerful others control the world, while conservatives were more active when they



were internal, i.e. when they did not believe that powerful others control the world.

Many suggestions and explanations have been offered as to why the theoretical relationships of internal-external control to political activity have not been borne out by empirical investigation, except for the initial studies of Gore & Rotter and Strickland.

Gurin et al. believe that, at least for minority groups, a multidimensional approach for the measurement of internal-external control is required. This is so, because many distinctions are needed before we can understand ". . . the significance of internal control in the motivational dynamics of people disadvantaged by minority and/or economic status" [1969, p.31]. The same claim is made by Gootnick for the case of non-minority groups now. The latest reviews of the literature and his findings favour a multi-dimensional approach of measurement for locus of control.

Levenson & Miller support the same claim in suggesting that some of the confusion in the research on locus of control and activism is due to the format and conceptualization of the scale usually employed for its measurement - the I-E scale by Rotter. In addition, they suggest that activists might have indeed been more internal in the beginning of the movement, when they believed that they could bring a change in the system, but that with the passing of time they have become gradually less optimistic and

therefore more external. Thus, the changing results in the literature might represent an actual change in the locus of control of activists.

Silvern & Nakamura argue that "[t]here are reasons to question both the theoretical necessity of the argument that those who feel more powerful will be more likely to act and the generality of the results that support the argument" [pp.139-140]. Much of the sociological literature on activism focuses on the alienation and sense of powerlessness of activists. Their political acts are seen as expressive rather than instrumental. Their activism is an existential effort to make sense and find meaning in a world that is perceived as uncertain, unresponsive and absurd. Therefore they act in defiance of pessimism rather than on the basis of an optimistic belief in a better world. In these terms, it is not only internal-external control which is difficult to define, but activism as well. Its psychological meaning is not stable and might vary from group to group and from time to time, thus rendering its theoretical expectations of association with locus of control, situation-specific rather than general. The same authors also point out that the contradictory results from different studies in the literature might be so because they come from essentially different studies and are therefore uncomparable. Gore & Rotter, and Strickland studied Negro college students and thus results should not be generalized to white students. Moreover, most of the research on locus of control has dealt with situations where the

subjects acted with their personal rewards in view - either in the laboratory or, in the case of black students, in their liberation movement. This is not the case though with white students whose political activity is usually directed at protecting somebody else's interests and rewards. Thus, again, evidence can not be generalized.

As a concluding remark to the present review of the literature on the relationship of internal-external control to political activism, I would like to make two points. The first is that the identification of the I-E scale with the operational definition of the locus of control variable has contributed a lot to the confusion existing now in the literature. The fact that all initial empirical investigations, of the relationship of locus control to political activism - as well as to many other variables - have been based on the relationships of the I-E scale to these variables, has limited our knowledge by confounding the results of this research with the unknown handicaps and particular characteristics of the particular instrument used.<sup>7</sup> The early literature on internal-external control and political activism tells us nothing more than the relationship of internality-externality as measured by Rotter and political activism. The particular disadvantages of this scale have been discovered gradually and through its use by various researchers. It is not easy to say as yet whether our 'knowledge' about the relationship of locus of control to other variables would have been the same had another scale been used. But evidence exists that when other instruments are used the results

are not the same. How locus of control should be measured is a problem not decided upon yet and neither are its empirical relations to other variables.

The second point to be made here is that as time goes by and students increase their experience and contact with political action, cognitions take the lead over deeper personality variables. Underlying variables play a leading role in guiding behaviour in the absence of more conscious forces. It is possible that through prolonged activism; the extensive contact with political literature, political discussions and exchange of ideas and the effort to put one's ideas into practice, one's political ideology dictates one's immediate reaction to many aspects of life. One's attitudes and beliefs are shaped in relation to several things by one's ideology without close contact or familiarity with these things being necessary. Thus a left-wing activist will state that powerful others control the world, secret plots are hatched, the average citizen does not have any power and that he has to fight even with little prospects of success, because this is his duty which arises from his knowledge of the underlying structure of this society, etc., things which are part of a left-wing ideology and can be independent of one's locus of control concerning other aspects of life - unless, of course, one wants to argue that locus of control lies in the basis of ideology preference and constitutes a cause for the espousal of a particular ideology - which might be true but remains to be seen. If, therefore, the politicization of students has increased to the point of pervading nearly all aspects of their

life, then it is very difficult to measure any underlying personality variable that bears relationship to aspects of their ideology, through the use of questionnaires and reported beliefs or preferences. This point is in accord with some of the latest evidence on internal-external control and political activism which reports that left activists are the highest in their belief of powerful others and conservative activists the lowest, and that this is the only dimension of locus of control which differentiates significantly between activists and nonactivists of both left and right ideologies, [Levenson & Miller, 1976].

### 3. Measurement

It is impossible to talk about the measurement of locus of control without at the same time talking about the I-E scale, as it was impossible to talk about the relationship of locus of control to other variables without considering its measurement.

The first attempt to measure locus of control was undertaken by Phares in 1957 who, by a Likert-type scale, discovered that the prediction of behaviour in a particular task was possible on the basis of individual measures of internal-external control. His results though barely reached statistical significance and his scale was revised by James and Rotter in 1958 who succeeded in obtaining significant correlations between test scores and behaviour.<sup>8</sup>

Liverant, Rotter & Seeman - as reported in Rotter's (1966) monograph - tried to develop further the James-Phares scale. They created a forced-choice questionnaire with various subscales

concerning various aspects of life, i.e. achievement, political attitudes, affection, etc. But these subscales did not generate distinct predictions for the various aspects concerned and the efforts to account for them separately was abandoned.

Rotter, Liverant & Crowne reduced and purified from desirability effects the old scale of Liverant, Rotter and Seeman and finally, after several revisions based on item-analyses and discriminant validity results, came up with the I-E scale as it is known and used now, presented by Rotter in 1966.

This scale is considered to be a measure of a "generalized expectancy" of control. Several studies done by Rotter and others<sup>9</sup> on the I-E scale provided evidence for its unidimensionality and its construct validity. Of particular relevance here are the studies by Gore and Rotter (1963) and Strickland (1965) - discussed in the previous section - which provided the first evidence of the ability of the scale to differentiate between activists and non-activists according to predictions. Also, two studies reported by Rotter in his monograph showed that the scale was free from political identification effects. The results of these studies indicated that no differences existed between the control scores of college students identifying themselves as Republicans, Democrats or Independents.

Since Rotter's monograph, where the reported research provided encouraging evidence for the I-E scale, more research has accumulated at times supportive and at times contradictory to

the already existing one. Doubts have been cast upon both the unidimensionality and discriminant validity of the scale<sup>10</sup> and some attempts have been made for the development of alternative measurement techniques.

Regarding its discriminant validity Rotter (1966) reported low correlations of the I-E scale with variables such as intelligence, social desirability and party identification as well as independence of sex effects. Similarly did Hersch & Scheibe (1967) for social desirability and intelligence effects, Minton (1967) for its relationship to political affiliation and Strickland (1965) for its relationship to social desirability.<sup>11</sup>

But Thomas (1970) and Gootnick (1974) found a conservative bias in the I-E scale, with "Internal" items being more congenial to conservative political views rather than to liberal views. Feather (1967) also found a significant relationship between I-E scores and the Marlow-Crown Social Desirability Scale, as well as significant differences between the mean scores of males and females, females scoring more external than males. Finally, Lefcourt (1966) reports some studies which found a significant positive relationship between internal control and intelligence, while another study with Negroes reported the reverse relationship. Thus, the discriminant validity of the I-E scale which was initially considered to be satisfactory is now questioned especially on the basis of its reported relationship to social desirability and conservatism.



In addition to the claims for a multidimensional approach being more suitable for the measurement of locus of control, based on conceptual distinctions made in the locus of control variable,<sup>12</sup> some researchers have based the same claims on the results of factor analyses performed on the I-E scale itself.

Rotter (1966) reports several factor analyses of the scale all of which produced evidence of one main factor and sometimes of additional smaller ones, not sufficiently reliable to account for subscales within the I-E .

Mirels (1970), however, found two factors when the results of the I-E scores of 316 college students were analyzed. The first factor referred to self as the target of control, and the second factor referred to the system as the target of control. On the first factor loaded all the items whose content referred to self ('I' or 'Me' statements) and on the second factor loaded all the items that referred to the system (general statements).

Collins (1974) conceptually analyzing the I-E scale from the person-perception-self-perception point of view suggested that there are at least two dimensions in it to account for the causal attributions that people make. The first dimension he named "predictability and lawfulness versus chance", where events are seen as lawful versus unpredictable. The second dimension he named "situation versus dispositional attributions", where the cues for controlling events are seen as situated in the actor



himself versus the environment. He then tested his hypothesis for the existence of these two factors in the I-E scale. To do this he converted the Rotter's forced choice items to Likert-type items and added some new ones to help him interpret the factors better. The factor analysis of the Likert-type scale - which incidentally provided essentially identical test scores with the forced-choice one - provided one main factor, which proved that a common theme was running through the scales. The subsequent rotation of the factors provided four distinct subsets within the I-E scale. The first factor refers to one's beliefs of "a difficult vs an easy world", the second to the belief of "a just vs an unjust world", the third to the belief of "a predictable world vs one governed by luck" and the fourth to the belief of "a politically responsive vs unresponsive world". These four factors define four uncorrelated subscales which add complexity both to the internal and external ends of the locus of control variable.

However the problem is, with this as with the other factor analyses of the I-E scale, that a particular researcher can not use these factors on a priori grounds but only if they are replicated in his own data which does not seem to be the usual case with the I-E . Thus the multidimensional measurement of internal-external control which is favoured by most researchers today remains only a wish until a valid new scale for its measurement appears and is put into use.<sup>13</sup>

To summarize, the measurement of locus of control confronts the researcher today with a problem of choice arising from the following points:

(a) The internal-external control as a motivational concept seems to be an important personality variable with interesting relationships to many other variables. Yet a generally approved measure of it is not available.

(b) The I-E scale, with which it has been usually measured, appears to be a good one as reported by many researchers, although some exceptions become more frequent lately. Yet, a multi-dimensional approach for the measurement of internal-external control seems to be favoured especially in studies of political participation, where evidence is more confusing than in other areas of research.

(c) No other scale seems to be recognized as a good alternative to the I-E .

(d) The breaking down of the hypothesized generalized expectancy of reinforcement into subareas of internal-external control in the study of political participation has not offered us, up to now, any other significant relationship of activism to locus of control than the one of the belief to powerful others as a characteristic of left activists, which can hardly be considered a personality characteristic of them since it is an explicit element of their political ideology.

Thus 'to break or not to break' down the locus of control variable and if yes, how to do it?

The decision made here was to use the I-E scale and explore its statistical structure and its relationship to activism, since no prior evidence exists, for any of the two samples studied here, on the basis of which to account for subsets in the measurement of locus of control.

## B. VALUES<sup>14</sup>

### 1. Definition

"Values, . . . , have to do with modes of conduct and end-states of existence. To say that a person "has a value" is to say that he has an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally and<sup>15</sup> socially preferable to alternative modes of conduct or end-states of existence."

[Rokeach, 1968, pp.159-160]

Rokeach has been mainly concerned with the distinct characteristics and interrelationships of beliefs, attitudes and values. Along with Brewster Smith he has tried to draw the attention of social psychologists to the importance and the centrality of the role of values in the study of all social behaviour. Values are an important variable in other fields besides psychology, like anthropology, sociology, philosophy, and theology. This creates additional problems for the formation of a psychological and operational definition of the concept, some of which are reflected in the history of its empirical and theoretical investigation.

Kelvin (1969) has theoretically established a relationship of values to order and the social environment. From a psychological point of view, he has argued that "order in the social environment" is "order in terms of values".

People are perceived as functioning on the basis of their values. Their social behaviour is seen as based on choices and judgements which are made on the basis of their order of values. Their personal order of values reflects both the social environment in which they function as well as their individual psychological make-up.

Values can be perceived as "absolute" or "subjective". An "absolute" approach to values implies a pre-determined order of values. Some values are good, other values are bad, and still further values are better than others. A "subjective" approach to values attributes a relativistic importance to values. It implies that different cultures, different people, different situations require or impose a different order of values, which is equally acceptable. Values in this case are seen as attributed to objects, situations, or actions, in terms of the satisfaction or dissatisfaction that these contain for the person who holds them. An "absolute" approach to values best suits the purposes of theology, while a "subjective" one best suits the purposes of scientific inquiry.

Rokeach has adopted a "subjective" approach to values.<sup>16</sup> He considers values as preferences. They are seen as guiding a

person's behaviour because they define what is desirable in personal and/or social terms. He distinguishes between terminal and instrumental values. Terminal values refer to preferable end-states of existence, and instrumental values refer to preferable modes of conduct. Theoretically, one's instrumental values should be instrumental to one's terminal values, while one's terminal values should add meaning to one's instrumental values. Thus, the above distinction is important because it reveals the functional relationship between values.

Terminal values can further be distinguished as personal and social. Values concerning social situations like "world at peace" or "equality" are different from values concerning personal situations like "sense of accomplishment" or "mature love". Rokeach claims that people with different priorities in terms of social versus personal values will also differ in attitudes and behaviour.

Instrumental values are distinguished as moral or competence values. Moral values refer to issues of morality and instruct moral behaviour. Competence values concern self-actualization values and feelings of personal capability. For example, the values "honest", "polite", "helpful" are moral values, while the values "intellectual", "capable", "logical" are competence values. Conflict between these two types of instrumental values may occur and a person's judgement will ultimately reveal the relative importance of the values involved in the conflict.

Values, according to Rokeach, are organized into value systems, where they are arranged in order of importance.

"A value system is an enduring organization of beliefs concerning preferable modes of conduct or end-states of existence along a continuum of relative importance."

[1973, p.5]

Of the distinct characteristics of values Rokeach says that values are determinants of attitudes and behaviour, that values judge social norms, that they are "the cognitive representations and transformations of needs", that they can be represented by interests and that they can undergo change as a result of changes in societal conditions.

Of the functions of values he says:

"Once a value is internalized it becomes, consciously or unconsciously, a standard or criterion for guiding action, for developing and maintaining attitudes toward relevant objects and situations, for justifying one's own and others' actions and attitudes, for morally judging self and others, and for comparing self with others. Finally, a value is a standard employed to influence the values, attitudes and actions of at least some others - our children's, for example."

[1968, pp.159-160]

Of the functions of a value system, he says:

"A person's value system may thus be said to represent a learned organization of rules for making choices and for resolving conflicts - between two or more modes of behaviour or between two or more end-states of existence."

[1968, p.161]

Of the relationship of values to attitudes and behaviour Rokeach says that values are related to behaviour through attitudes.<sup>17</sup> Any social object within any social situation activates two types of attitudes within a person. One attitude concerning the object and one the situation. These two attitudes activate a set of values - both terminal and instrumental - which are functionally and cognitively related to the object and the situation encountered. Behaviour will be the result of the relative importance of the two attitudes, which will be the result of the relative importance of the values that have been activated.

Rokeach based on the above theoretical assumptions concentrated his efforts in trying to identify a set of instrumental and a set of terminal values, the arrangement of which in individual value systems would significantly relate to a wide range of social attitudes and behaviour. This investigation was based both on theoretical and empirical grounds. It took him through the field of philosophy and politics. Finally, he decided on 18 terminal and 18 instrumental values which he obtained through a process of elimination from material obtained from a review of the literature and interviews with students and adults. His research in this field is reported in his book 'The Nature of Human Values', 1973.<sup>18</sup>

Finally Brewster Smith, whose concern has always been with human values, has also dealt with the relationship of morality to student protest. Haan, Smith and Block (1968) studied the values and the value judgements of activists as an indication of

their morality. Their main question was whether student activists did in fact have a superior morality to non-activists, since they claimed moral necessities for their protest. They considered morality on two levels. One was the moral content, that is the values one subscribed to, and the other was the moral process, that is the reasoning through which one arrived at a moral judgement.<sup>19</sup> Smith et al. (1968) claim that the content of moral values is too culturally and historically bound for the purpose of discriminating between different levels of morality. In their study, although they took measures of both moral content and moral reasoning, they used only moral reasoning as indicative of the level of morality of their subjects.<sup>20</sup> Thus, instead of evaluating values, as being of superior or inferior morality, they evaluated ways of defining "moral behaviour", as being of higher or lower moral sophistication. The highest level of morality was attained by those who acted on the basis of their moral principles.

Their findings suggest a close relationship of moral content and moral reasoning. For example, Level II conventional morality was linked to values of the Protestant Ethic, while Level III principled morality was linked to "the humanistic values of self-actualization".<sup>21</sup> Therefore, for those samples, values of the Protestant Ethic characterized people at a lower level of morality than did values of self-actualization. Thus, the relationship of values to morality was found to be a very close one.

But one can argue, as Lane (1969) did, that the way in which these researchers have measured morality is not complete.



Considering Rokeach's argument that some values are representations of needs or that they permit rational justification of self-interest and taking into account Smith's functionalist approach, one has to accept that to act according to one's values might sometimes be equal to acting on the basis of one's needs and interests. In this case then, to say that acting on principle is the highest level of morality is not true. Lane suggests that the highest level of morality characterizes the person who has the ability to criticize his values on the basis of new information and can question the basis of his morality by the awareness that some of his values serve his needs and interests. In this way, morality becomes a more complicated issue and the relationship of values to morality becomes a complex one. The whole issue of morality evolves around one's values. It includes the specific values one adheres to, the way in which one takes one's values into account in moral decision making, and the critique of one's own values. Therefore morality can not be deduced from values in any direct and simple way.

To conclude the theoretical discussion on values, the following points are made about the way in which they are conceptualized in the present work:

- (1) Rokeach's definition of values as quoted in the beginning of this section is accepted, together with his distinction of instrumental and terminal values.
- (2) Values are considered as a variable of central importance in the personality structure of an individual. They are assigned the role of guiding and justifying both behaviour and attitudes.

- (3) Granted the difficulties in speaking about 'higher' and 'lower' levels of morality, which constitutes an issue in moral philosophy, Rokeach's effort for a new "value-free approach to the study of human values" is much appreciated.
- (4) In the present thesis it is values and not morality which is studied and references to qualitatively different types of values will not imply degree-differences in morality but only quality differences in the content of morality.

## 2. Their Relationship to Political Activity

The relationship of values to political activity has attracted the attention of psychologists and political scientists long before the study of student activism. Values along with liberalism-conservatism had been the most important variables psychology could offer to the understanding of political behaviour. Lasswell wrote:

"... our values are derived from that part of culture that includes the basic postulates of metaphysics and theology; our values are implemented by the part of culture called science and practice (including psychology and politics)."

[1947, p.13]

And Hyman (1959) considered one's choice of ego-ideals, which is a particular type of values, as predictive of political participation.

In the study of student activism values, together with ideology, have served to discriminate among different types of activists. Keniston (1967) talks about the "alienated" and the "committed" amongst the activists. The first reject the political and social values of their parents and society and are at a loss

in search of no values, which ultimately becomes their value. The second accept the values of their parents but challenge the traditional values of society, which are at odds with the "universalistic, humanitarian, equalitarian and individualistic values" characterizing their families, [p.131].

Block, Haan, and Smith (1974) talk about five categories of activists, according to the degree in which they accept or reject traditional values and institutional authority as well as their involvement in political-social issues. Those who accept traditional values are either "apathetic" towards everything, or "individualistic" in which case they engage only in traditional political activities, i.e. attend the meetings of a political club, petitioning, etc., and not in social ones, i.e. doing voluntary services, engage in community activities, etc. Those who reject traditional values are either "alienated" towards all aspects of life or "activists" who engage both in radical political and social activities, or "dissenters" who are only part-time radical activists. Finally, the "constructivists" fall somewhere between the two dimensions, accepting some and rejecting others of the traditional values.

Values have not only served to differentiate amongst types of activism but they have also been considered as one of the main causes of protest activity. Flacks writes:

"... the youth revolt includes a very explicit rejection of occupational success and self-rationalization as central values, and a quite definite search for a new, anti-bourgeois culture. For some, the youth revolt is a prophecy of the collapse of the prevailing value-system."

[1970a, p.146]

He considers the student movement as an indication of cultural alienation and disintegration which is caused by, (a) the discontinuity of family and societal values which leads to the creation of youth cultures, (b) the lack of jobs suitable to the youth's humanistic ideals, and (c) the sharp differences that exist between the values of students and the values of the rest of the population, (1970b).

In this value-orientated interpretation of the student movement, Flacks is joined by many other researchers in this field. For example: Keniston (1968) describes activists as being characterized by non-vocational, humanitarian, expressive and self-actualizing value commitments. Lipset (1966) describes student activists, from under-developed countries, as deviating more from the traditional cultural and political beliefs than their less educated counterparts of the general populace. Statera (1975) sees protesting youth as not having internalized the established cultural heritage, and writes that:

"... there is little doubt that a similar search for Gemeinschaft, a feeling of alienation from the established system and profound, libertarian drives, were at the roots of student protest."

[p.11]

Finally, Block, Haan, and Smith (1974) suggest that activists had been reared in homes where dialogue was valued and expected that social institutions would be responsive to them, like their parents had been, and felt supported by them in challenging the values of modern society.

Wood (1974) has brought some evidence against the cultural alienation hypothesis as a strong determinant of activism. He argues for a distinction between cultural alienation, which means to behave according to distinct cultural values, and radical socialization which means to be socialized in radical political values, acted out in protest activities. In the largest part of the literature distinct cultural values and radical political values have been summed up together in the attempt to explain activism in terms of values. He says that the first, unconventional cultural values, "is not a prime motivator of activism", while the second, radical political values, is the best single predictor of activism.

Allerbeck (1968) too, from cross-cultural data, argues against the socialization to unconventional values hypothesis.

He found that:

"... common to most groups is a rather strong belief in the values of a democratic system and an equally strong belief that the actions of their respective government utterly disregard those values to which they are paying lip service."

[p.12]

Thus he claims that the protesting students hold the same values that are the basis of their social system, only they see that no authority puts them into practice.

Specific values have been found in many studies to distinguish activists from nonactivists. To review the findings of some of the most important studies in this field, Table 5 has been prepared.

Finally, Rokeach examined the relationship of values to both activism and ideology. He started with the assumption that politics concerns the distribution of power within society. Different political ideologies propose different ways of best distributing this power. Amongst the 18 terminal values, that he had selected as appropriate for the measurement of individual value systems, were two values that directly related to the issue of power distribution in society. These were the values "freedom" and "equality". Rokeach assumed that these two values could distinguish between different political ideologies. Through a review of the literature of major political writings of fascist, communist, socialist and capitalist ideological orientations, he tried to test his hypothesis of the importance of these two values. He found that in fascist ideology both "freedom" and "equality" were assigned little importance. In communist ideology "freedom" was assigned little importance, but "equality" was highly regarded. In socialist ideology both values were emphasized. Finally, in capitalist

TABLE 5 : Values Characterizing Activists versus Nonactivists

AUTHOR	ACTIVISTS	NONACTIVISTS
Astin 1970	+ artistic interests - wanting success in business	
	<u>FSM<sup>a</sup> Participants</u> (ego-ideals)	<u>Randomly Selected Students</u> (ego-ideals)
Block, Haan, and Smith, 1974	curious idealistic altruistic creative impulsive tolerant	perceptive rebellious empathic responsive restless
		ambitious self-denying conventional competitive self-controlled foresightful
Flacks 1970 <sup>a</sup>	intellectual aesthetic pursuits international + national betterment	marriage family
Kerpelman 1972	> value on political activity > value on leadership	
	<u>Broad Spectrum Activists</u>	<u>Inactives</u>
	<u>Men</u> > critical impulsive sensitive restless empathic perceptive artistic creative curious	<u>Men</u> > conventional orderly self-controlled proud self-denying needs approval
	<u>Women</u> > rebellious orderly sensitive restless creative curious	<u>Women</u> > foresightful ambitious
	<u>Dissenters</u> > rebellious free not hung-up idealistic open frank	
	> critical free not hung-up open frank idealistic	

Symbols: + positive value. - negative value. > stress the particular value in a statistically significant higher degree than any other group in the sample studied. a. FSM: FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT



ideology "freedom" was assigned great importance, but "equality" was undermined.

From these findings Rokeach proposed the following two-value model of political ideology: extreme regard for the values "freedom" and/or "equality" can differentiate between the four major political orientations in our culture.

From political ideology Rokeach tried to expand this model to political activism. He argued that if people are to become seriously engaged in politics they should do so as a result of their value system which must place one or both of these values in some extreme position. On the basis of this reasoning he proposed the following "law of political activism":

"A more extreme regard for either one or both of the two political values, equality and freedom, is a minimum condition for sustained political action and is also a minimum consequence of political action."

[1973, p.211]

He tested and verified this law by examining the value hierarchies of groups of known political activity and ideology. He concluded that political activists have a strong motivation to become politically active because of an intense belief of the desirability or undesirability of either or both of these two values, and even greater polarization of values occurs after they engage in political activity, as a result of cognitive change which often follows behaviour. The result is that political activists are more extreme



in their regard for "equality" and/or "freedom". Research on student activism has produced the following results: high rating of "freedom" and "equality" (1st and 3rd respectively), for those active in the civil rights movement; high "freedom" (1st), lower "equality" (6th), for those nonactive but sympathetic to the movement; and high "freedom" (2nd), low "equality" (11th), for those nonactive and unsympathetic to the movement.

### 3. Measurement

The particular problems encountered in the effort to define values theoretically, were also faced in the effort to operationalize and measure this concept.

The question as to the nature of values easily swept the concept into the field of philosophy or theology, where moral issues or 'external ideas' belong, or into the field of depth psychology, where the unconscious foundations of values belong, and in any case away from the field of measurement or laboratory experimentation.

It was Thurstone who dared to claim that values could be measured ". . . on an additive scale, an equal unit scale with a meaningful zero point" [1959, p.195], by a rank order method or a paired comparisons method. And it was Rokeach who claimed that values could be subject to experimental change. He claimed that,

since individuals strive for consistency within their value systems, change can be induced in the hierarchy of their values by pointing out to them the inconsistencies that exist within their value systems. In fact, evidence provided by Rokeach (1974) on this issue, proved his point; change was introduced not only in the value hierarchy but also in the behaviour of his subjects.

The question as to the number of values, necessary to account for one's value orientation, posed problems as to where to sample the value items from, and to what degree of generality or specificity to state them. For example, Allport, Vernon & Lindzey (1960) sampled value items from six different types of activities and ideas, which was consonant with Spranger's theory of the existence of six "types of men" who were identified by their different main interests. Other researchers sampled items from a different number of categories, always according to their theoretical premises.<sup>22</sup>

Rokeach according to his theoretical distinction of terminal and instrumental values sampled values of end-states of existence, like "salvation", "happiness", "wisdom", etc., and values of modes of behaviour, like "polite", "obedient", "helpful", etc. From an assumed small number of terminal values and a slightly bigger but finite number of instrumental values he sampled 18 values from each, which he empirically found to be a "reasonable" amount of value items. Terminal values were derived

from values of people interviewed and a review of the literature, while instrumental values were sampled from a list of positively evaluated personality traits. These values are not specific to any 'type of man' or 'type of behaviour' as the values selected by Allport et al. have been. They do not belong to different categories of interest but they are organized into personal value systems according to their degree of importance.

The relationship of values to morality, values as "ought to" versus "prefer to", posed its own complexities. In the case where values are conceived as moral imperatives, measures are constructed to assess people's judgements of right/wrong or good/bad in the area of interpersonal relations and behaviour. Also, because in this conception of values morality is expressed in terms of duty versus desire, measures of the discrepancy of duties from preferences can serve as a way of assessing moral character. In the case where values are conceived as personal interests, preferences, or goals measures are taken of people's relative or absolute preferences of various alternatives.

Rokeach conceives of values as guiding principles, a conception which falls between the ought versus preference dimension. A person's expressed values can be either social or personal as well as social and personal at the same time, or can vary at different times and places. He does not take any measures of personally preferable versus socially preferable values but leaves the problem as requiring further investigation both in theory and measurement.

Rokeach has created an instrument for the measurement of values: the "Value Survey", which has been developed according to the theoretical assumptions of his theory of values. In the present study values have been measured by this instrument. A more detailed review of the "Value Survey" appears in Appendix B. Here two of the problems that Rokeach had to tackle in measuring values with this particular instrument will be mentioned. The first is related to the ranking procedure employed for the formation of value systems and the second concerns the meaning of the various value-items.

The first is the problem of ipsative scores. The ranking procedure yields the relative rather than the absolute importance of each value, at an ordinal level of measurement. Thus, statistical comparisons across individuals must be carried out with caution, because the assumption of the independence of scores is violated. Rokeach accepts that this is the case, but he claims that "[w]ith 18 values, the extent to which this independence assumption is violated is relatively small, the average intercorrelation being only  $-.06$ ", [1973, p.43]. Granted the ipsative nature of the scores, a correlation of  $-.06$  would be expected to occur by chance. Thus for practical purposes, the values may be considered as independent. In addition, the range of correlations between the values is small. The highest correlation is  $+.35$ , between the values "a comfortable life" and "pleasure"; and the lowest correlation is  $-.32$ , between the values "a comfortable life" and "wisdom".

The second problem refers to the question of whether the values listed in the instrument mean the same thing to all respondents. Rokeach's answer to this question is that, for one thing, the "Value Survey" has been found to measure the same kind of connotative meaning as the Semantic Differential Technique.<sup>23</sup> For another thing, the psychological significance of values is more important than the semantic meaning of values. The meaning of a value to a person is better understood in the context of the rest of his values. To use Rokeach's favourite example, if two persons rank "freedom" high in their list of values it does not mean that "freedom" has the same meaning for both. Its meaning depends on where "equality" is ranked. If one ranks "equality" also high, a liberal political orientation is suggested, and if the other ranks "equality" low, a conservative political orientation is suggested. So, for these two people "freedom" does not have the same meaning - in its psychological sense - and it is its psychological sense which is of greater importance for the understanding of political behaviour or any other type of behaviour in general. Lastly, results of validity and reliability are virtually identical for two types of the "Value Survey" - one with definitions for each value and one without definitions of values. This proves that suggested differences in the literary meaning of values do not affect the results obtained in the value hierarchy.

Rokeach has an additional point to make on the form of the "Value Survey". He believes that the value items, presented as the sole stimuli in the test, elicit true responses from the subjects

because their suggestive nature leaves the respondents' own internalized systems of values as the sole determinants of the produced value hierarchies.

The "Value Survey" was chosen to be used in this study for various reasons. Besides its reliability, validity and other statistically important characteristics which render it to be a good instrument, statistically it has three additional advantages:

- (1) It is related to Rokeach's theoretical work on values and it is supposed to measure values in accord with his definition of values. Since this definition was accepted here as being relevant to social-psychological research, the use of this instrument logically followed.
- (2) Because it has been used by Rokeach and others extensively in areas of political-psychological relevance, it offers data for the comparison of results from various studies and with different samples.
- (3) Finally, it has been successfully used in cross-cultural studies. It has been found to be very sensitive not only in detecting specific cross-cultural value differences but in providing also results which offered evidence, supportive or not, to other researchers' theoretical expectations and hypotheses of what the cultural differences would be like.<sup>24</sup>

## C. RADICALISM-CONSERVATISM

### 1. Definition

Radicalism-Conservatism (R-C) is taken here to mean 'Left-Right' and to denote, accordingly, opinions consonant to a left-wing/right-wing ideology. This is so, because Radicalism is

used in opposition to Conservatism in reference to mainly economic issues. It is politicoeconomic ideology that is of concern in this study rather than general personality tendencies of Liberalism versus Conservatism (L-C). The two are theoretically distinct, although they might highly correlate in practice. Radical politico-economic ideology is 'left', socialist or communist ideology, favouring change of an egalitarian direction; while the liberal personality syndrome (the term liberal is preferred with reference to personality) includes personality orientations towards love of the new, risk, change, internationalism, rebelliousness, etc. Conservative politicoeconomic ideology is 'right', capitalist, laissez faire ideology, favouring stability and hierarchical order; while the conservative personality syndrome includes personality orientations towards love of the status quo, tradition, religiosity, ethnocentrism, conformity, cautiousness, etc.

The difference between ideology and personality syndrome, is the difference between attitudes and personality processes. Wilson (1973) who has done a study of conservatism as a personality syndrome writes:

"The consistency with which these characteristics [religious dogmatism, right-wing political orientation, militarism, ethnocentrism, intolerance of minority groups, authoritarianism, punitiveness, anti-hedonism, conformity, conventionality, superstition, and opposition to scientific progress] were found to inter-correlate together led to the proposal that personality dynamics must be involved in the organization of social attitudes, i.e. that individual differences in motivational processes are partly responsible for this tendency for attitudes to arrange themselves around a general factor of liberalism versus conservatism."

[p.257]



Wilson in his theory of conservatism identifies the personality syndrome as an ego-defensive one, a response to feelings of insecurity, inferiority, and fear of uncertainty.

Politico-economic ideology is a set of attitudes and beliefs regarding the distribution of economic resources and political power in the world. Of course politicoeconomic ideology is one of the variables that define the personality syndrome of L-C and for the Western world conservative economic ideology characterizes people of the conservative end of the personality dimension, while socialist economic ideology characterizes those of the liberal end.<sup>25</sup>

Therefore, since politicoeconomic ideology is part of the L-C or R-C dimension and the two have been usually studied together, the short history of the concept of R-C that will follow, pertains to both economic ideology and personality trends.

Researchers have long ago noticed that certain clusterings occur in the variations of political and social attitudes of people. Particular attitudes in one aspect of social life were found to correlate with particular attitudes in other aspects of social life. An underlying variable was assumed to be the source of clusterings in attitude variations. That variable was identified as the R-C dimension on which people were thought to occupy a stable and measurable position. It was thought to underlie attitudes such as ethnocentrism, religiosity, traditionalism, etc., or rebelliousness,



permissiveness, internationalism, etc. and to account for their particular groupings.

But R-C was arrived at, even from a narrower route. Variations in specific opinions about policy matters in politics were also found to vary in patterned ways. Their common source of variation was sought again in an underlying dimension, namely politicoeconomic Radical versus Conservative ideology.

In both cases R-C is assumed to be an underlying dimension accounting for patterns of variation in, (a) the attitude level, with regard to many social objects and situations, and (b) the opinion level, with regard to politics.<sup>26</sup> But not all researchers have adopted this point of view and some of the contradictory findings about the existence and usefulness of R-C as an explanatory variable in the field of politics can be accounted for by this distinction. Because those researchers interested in the clusters of attitudes used R-C as a personality dimension, while those researchers interested in the clusters of political opinions used R-C as an ideological dimension.<sup>27</sup> Without sufficient attention being paid to these different uses of the term, R-C was used and referred to interchangeably, at times to describe politico-economic ideology, and at times to describe personality.

For the purposes of the review of the literature to follow, it should be stated here that Eysenck, Wilson and McClosky use R-C to account for clusters of general attitudes and use

therefore R-C as a personality dimension,<sup>28</sup> while Key, Converse, Lane and Hughes use R-C to account for clusters of opinions about policy matters and use therefore R-C as an ideological dimension.

Research done in the effort to explain variations in attitudes by means of a R-C dimension can be said to have followed three steps (see also Table 6).

In the first step R or C is considered to be a wholistic and coherent ideology which when espoused by a person has binding effects on all of his attitudes due to the particular way in which this person views the world. One's particular view of the world is the constant on which one's R-C depends and it is held together by links of logic, learning and personality.

In the second step R or C is considered to be both an ideology, which is personality rooted, and a personality dimension. It is espoused by a person because of several sociopsychological reasons and has binding effects on all of his attitudes because both attitudes and ideology form part of his personality, which is the constant in this case held together by links of psychological necessity.

In the third step R or C is an ideology with weak constraining effects upon a person's political opinions formation, possibly personality rooted, and one amongst other important variables all of which affect a person's thinking. The constant

TABLE 6 : SUMMARY TABLE OF THE USE OF R-C IN EXPLAINING ATTITUDE VARIATION

Attitudes correlate because of:

- (a) Ideology. A matter of structuring and perceiving the world in a particular way.
1. (McClosky)
  2. A pattern of interrelated variables which form a coherent ideological system and an identifiable way of life.
  3. If the expected association fails to occur it is due to a lack of a well integrated ideological system.
  4. Evidence fails to support the existence of well defined ideologies in the general populace. (Converse, Cambell, et al.)
- (b) Attitudes being personality rooted. The causes of the espousal of different ideologies lies in deeper psychological and sociological factors.
1. (Eysenck, Wilson, et al.)
  2. Attitudes as a projection of personality variables in the field of social attitudes.  
Introduction of T factor.  
Introduction of Genetic and Environmental factors and other motivational variables.  
Conservative syndrome expressed verbally in attitudes.
  3. Perfect association of attitudes fails to occur due to a complex relationship between environment, psychological variables, and behavior.
  4. The specific content of attitudes can not be accounted for by the relationship of environment to personality to R-C.

(cont.)

TABLE 6 : (cont.)

(c) Political Thinking. Responses to an issue at hand are the result of a thinking process based on the available information and experience in gratifying needs at a conscious and an unconscious level.

1. (Lane, Smith).
2. Thinking is influenced by: ideology,  
psychological needs,  
reference groups,  
self interest,  
etc.
3. Associations fail to occur due to the lack of a criterion to help in the decision making.
4. Evidence shows that people find few ego-involving issues and that opinions exist without information basis. (Sears).

KEY to the Table

1. Main representative(s) of the presented theory.
2. Main features of the presented theory.
3. How the theory accounts for failures of prediction related to attitude clusterings.
4. Some evidence contrary to the presented theory.

in this case is the person's political reasoning which is constrained by his personal philosophic concepts.<sup>29</sup>

(a) It is McClosky's (1958) contention that conservatism is an identifiable pattern of several interrelated variables which add up to a coherent philosophy of man, that can be measured and therefore place its holder in a particular position on a R-C dimension. One's stance on some of the variables of this dimension could enable the researcher to predict one's stance on the rest of the variables and therefore generalize from one cluster of attitudes to another. Because one's position on this R-C ideological dimension was later found to correlate with one's position on several other social attitudes and personality characteristics, these second ones were incorporated in the first ones of the R-C dimension, and thus any few of them taken together could define one's position on the R-C continuum. Of course, predictions and generalizations had a margin of failure and uncertainty due to the fact that the relationship between ideological R-C and psychological R-C was not perfect.<sup>30</sup> Nonetheless predictions were expected to be at least in the right direction since one's attitudes in one area of social or political issues were assumed as binding in the rest.

McClosky's findings on the importance of the R-C dimension as an ideological organizing dimension failed to be reproduced by the Survey Research Center which undertook to study the nature and structure of the R-C dimension in the U.S.A. for nationwide samples, [Campbell et al. 1960, Converse 1964]. By their findings the

sociopolitical attitudes of the general public were judged to be unrelated, contradictory in logical and political terms, and held in relation to respected groups or self-interest rather than ideology or personality.<sup>31</sup> It was only elite groups, such as political activists, politicians, college students, well educated people, etc. who had the necessary information and the need for logical consistency, that held internally consistent attitudes and could be meaningfully placed along the R-C dimension.

(b) It was Eysenck (1954) who introduced a second dimension in the conceptualization and explanation of the phenomenon of attitude clustering. Based on data from British samples he recognized the need to account for a personality factor independent of the old ideological one. He proposed a two-factor theory of political attitudes which maintained the R-C dimension, R-factor, and added the "Tough-mindedness - Tender-mindedness" dimension, T-factor. The two in combination were proven to account for most of the relationships of social attitudes.<sup>32</sup> The T-factor was described as a projection of the personality variable. Extraversion-Introversion onto the field of social attitudes. "Extraversion" characteristics like aggression, dominance, rigidity, intolerance of ambiguity, narrow-mindedness and mental concreteness were common to "Tough-mindedness" while "Introversion" characteristics were common to "Tender-mindedness". Learning theory principles can be applied to the formation of R- and T-factors. Eysenck suggests that learning (the modification of behaviour through reward and punishment) influences R-C attitudes, while conditioning (the

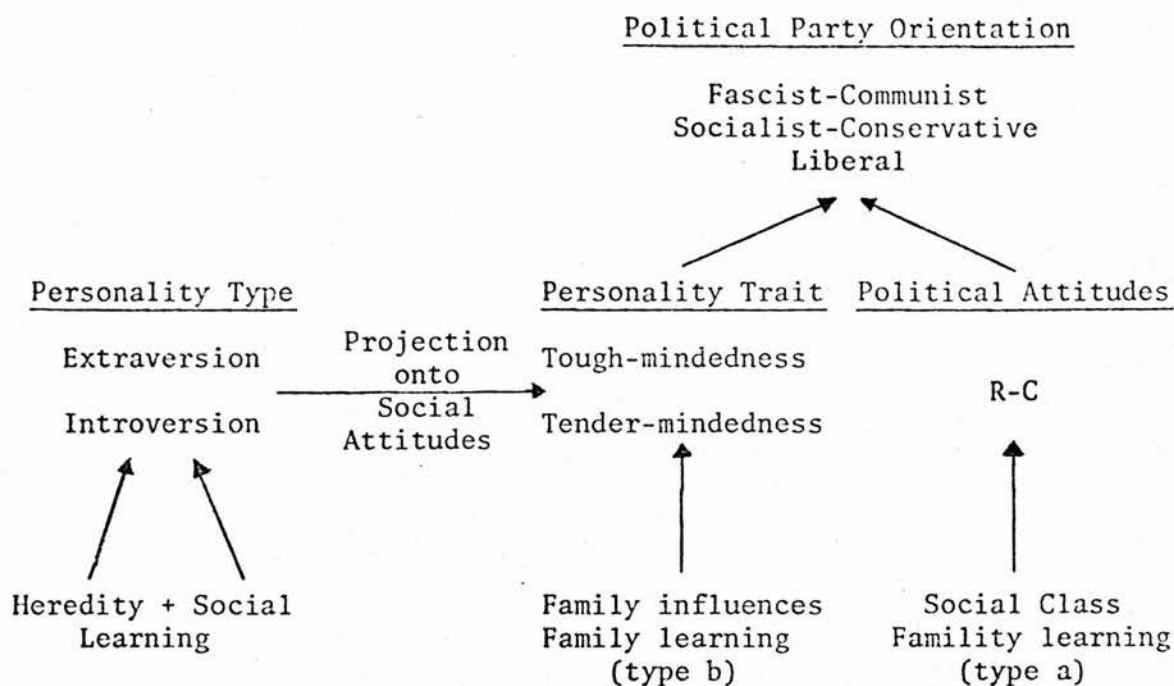
modification of behaviour through associations) influences "Tough- and Tender-mindedness" attitudes. (See Figure 3 for a schematic representation of this theory.)

Eysenck's findings suggest that the R-C dimension is a main organizing variable underlying both politicoeconomic and social attitudes. It is closely associated to social class and social status, that is why its origins are sought in learning. A person learns during his life to favour R or C attitudes, in politics and in social life. Thus the R-factor is not deeply personality rooted, in the sense of being related to unconscious needs, but a person gradually orients himself towards one of its poles, through reward and punishment.

Personality influences are assumed to be stronger for the T-factor, which is related to "extraversion-introversion" and its roots are sought in conditioning. A person acquires "tender- or tough-minded" attitudes through involuntary emotional responses to his environment, which are influenced both by the family environment and his personality - which is the product of heredity and social learning.

Because R-C attitudes are expressed in a "tough- or tender-minded" way, depending on a person's position on the T-factor, both R- and T-factors are important for the analysis of political attitudes and this is how the importance of personality in relation to politicoeconomic ideology is introduced by Eysenck.

FIGURE 2: Eysenck's Theory of R- and T-factors in the Field of Political Attitudes



Although Eysenck's theory seems reasonable and credible and evidence contradicting it is little and concerns only the inadequacy of operational measures of the T-factor, it has been severely criticized on the methodological level as well as for its interpretations.<sup>33</sup> Leaving aside these much discussed problems, there seem to be two main difficulties with this theory.

- (a) The assumed unidimensionality of R-C has been strongly questioned recently,<sup>34</sup> and
- (b) The nature of the T-factor and its independence from the R-factor is questionable.

Eysenck's argument that this is so because the T-factor can only be measured through its projection on the R-factor, does not seem



to fully satisfy researchers, especially since the methodological criticisms of his work pertaining to sampling, measurement and interpretation of statistical results have not been answered satisfactorily.

Yet, although Eysenck's findings are not fully accepted as answers to the issues his work has raised, these latter are still with us and subsequent research has followed his path. Thus, Wilson (1973) maintains that, on the basis of Adorno et al. and Eysenck's research, there are theoretical reasons to expect social attitudes and belief patterns to be related to more fundamental personality factors.

Wilson was mainly intrigued by two phenomena: The consistency with which certain characteristics are found to inter-correlate together and the fact that the patterns they form can not be explained only in terms of logical overlap in content.

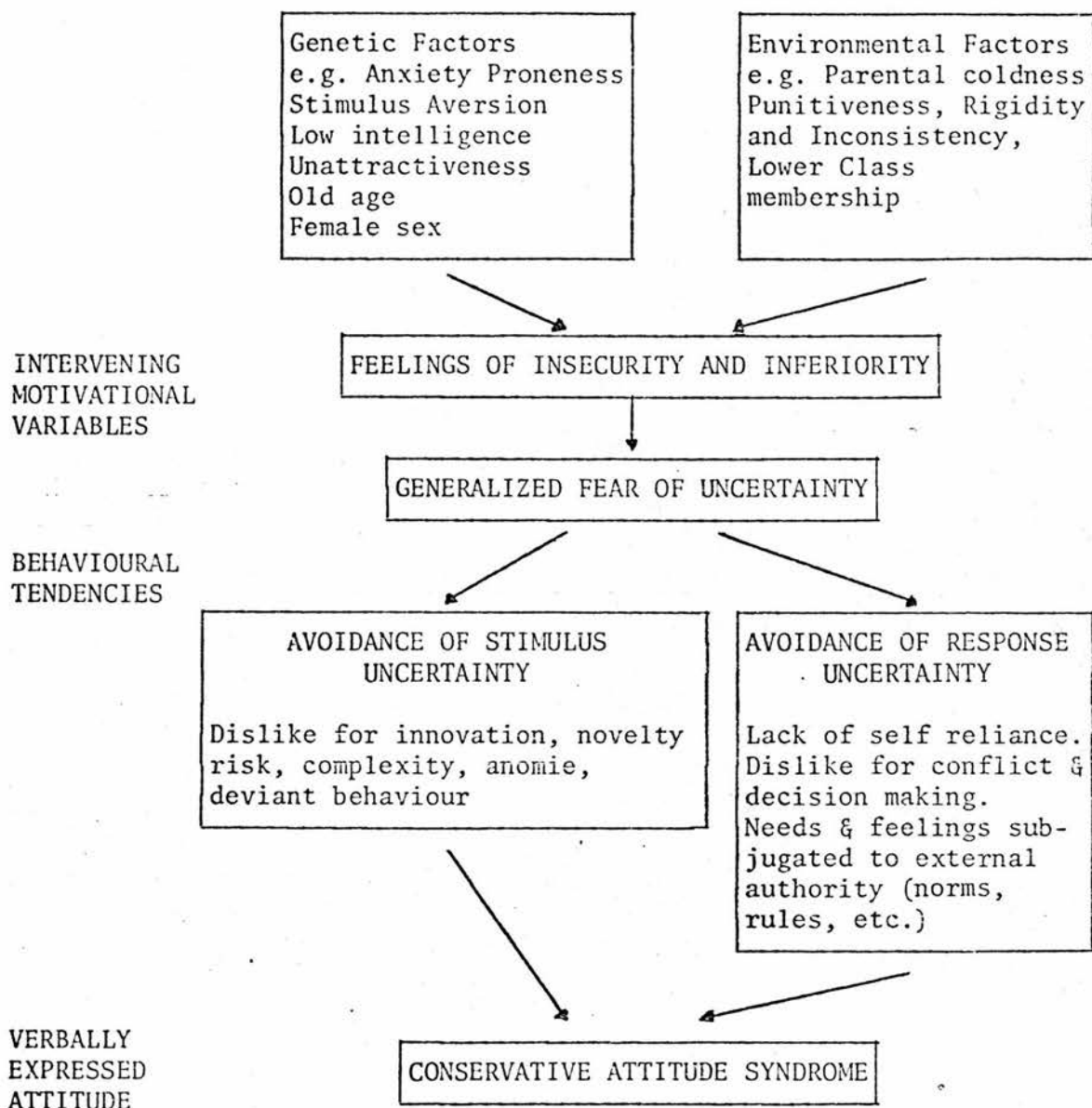
The characteristics that were found to go together were identified as: religious dogmatism, right-wing political orientation (in Western countries), militarism, ethnocentrism, intolerance of minority groups, authoritarianism, punitiveness, anti-hedonism, conformity, conventionality, superstition and opposition to scientific progress. Subsequently, they were recognized to constitute the "Conservative Syndrome". Fundamental personality processes were assumed to be instrumental for the organization of these characteristics, in the form of dynamic or motivational factors. Thus, Wilson (1973), came up with a General Theory of the psychological

origins and organization of conservatism (the C-factor), which schematically is described in Figure 4, as adapted from Wilson (1973). Conservatism is viewed as serving an ego defensive function. It is a response to feelings of insecurity, inferiority and fear of uncertainty in the environment or in the response to it. A direct relationship is assumed between conservatism that arises as a response to a psychological need and its expression at the attitude level. Attitudes are held together because each one of them serves to avoid uncertainty.

What is missing though from Wilson's model is the presentation of alternative routes. Although it is acceptable that Conservatism arises from the need to avoid "stimulus and response uncertainty" which arises from a "generalized fear of uncertainty" which has its origins in "feelings of insecurity and inferiority" which were born by particular "genetic and environmental factors", it is not easy to accept that the particular "genetic and environmental factors" necessarily lead to "feelings of insecurity and inferiority" which find expression only in a "generalized fear of uncertainty" which leads to tendencies of avoidance of "stimulus and response uncertainty" which are satisfied only by the espousal of conservative attitudes. As Greenstein, examining the relationship of "personality structures" to "belief systems" has put it:

FIGURE 3 : A Theory of the Psychological Antecedents of Conservatism

# ORIGINS



Adapted from Wilson (1973, p.261)

"As is often pointed out, persons with similar underlying personality characteristics are capable of holding different political beliefs, and those with similar beliefs may differ in underlying personality characteristics. The psychic elements of underlying personality and belief are capable of independent variation. This is true because there are normally a variety of alternative channels through which psychic needs can be expressed . . ."

[1969, p.124]

Yet evidence in support of Wilson's theory is strong. On one hand the theory was formulated in an attempt to integrate the existing evidence in the field of the organization of social attitudes; on the other, research that has followed it, using the C-scale created by Wilson and Patterson (1970) for the measurement of Conservatism, provides evidence in the expected direction.<sup>35</sup> Wilson specifies that he uses 'conservatism' not for predicting voting nor in the politicoeconomic sense, but in a broader way as resistance to change, preference for playing safe and for keeping conventional forms of institutions and behaviour. He indicates that voting and political beliefs usually reflect habit, social class and personal expediency rather than personality characteristics. Thus, politicoeconomic conservatism, which is of concern in this study, is not directly related to the conservative syndrome, although pro-capitalist attitudes is one of its aspects. Other than personality variables seem to affect it in more important ways.<sup>36</sup> In consequence, not all conservatives (in the sense of scoring high on the conservative syndrome) espouse a conservative economic ideology, nor all conservatives (in the economic sense) score high on the conservative syndrome. In fact, evidence exists

from different populations indicating that economic and social conservatism sometimes correlate, sometimes they do not and sometimes they move in opposite directions.<sup>37</sup>

(c) Lane (1972, 1973) working with the same purpose in mind as the others, i.e. that of trying to find out "what holds opinions together, making for clusters instead of isolates", has indicated an additional important variable, which he has named the "political reasoning process".

Policy preferences, opinions on issues, etc. are the result of a person's political thinking. Without undermining personality characteristics or political ideologies he says that at any time X where a person has to express his opinion in relation to a questionnaire item or an issue raised to him, he has to draw upon his knowledge and experience in gratifying his needs, in order to answer it. Lane defines the phenomenon to be analyzed as the pattern of associations which beliefs form and the sense of psychological constraint a person feels to answer the way he does. He claims that an inquiry about the relations of various political ideas is partly an inquiry into political reasoning which requires an analysis of how people think about politics.

"... we can judge the "rationality" of an opinion only after we discover what the individual is trying to do. It may seem paradoxical, but opinions that do not follow the rules of logic can be "rational" in this sense. And, in a similar sense, ignorance may be more rational than knowledge."

[Lane 1973, p.95]

Lane emphasizes two concepts in trying to explain the phenomenon of attitude and opinion clustering: (a) the concept of agency, and (b) the concept of constraint. He looks at the "thinking man" and tries to analyze the forces that make him hold one belief rather than another. He describes these forces as meta-ideas. They are one's basic beliefs which form one's core belief system out of which political beliefs are made.

"These personal-philosophic concepts are ingredients of constraint; it is these things that cause one idea-element to be associated with another in a political belief 'system'."

[1973, p.110]

These meta-ideas refer to, (a) one's identity. This includes the answer to the question "who am I?", group references, need achievement, conflict resolution, etc. (b) Institutions, one's relations to them and their relations between themselves. (c) Authority, for advising on political matters. (d) Values, goals, needs. The gratification of one's needs is seen as the basis of political thinking.

"Liberalism and conservatism are themselves shaped by the uses to which an individual puts his opinions, their serviceability for what he wants to accomplish . . . conservative and liberal ideologies are mediating concepts between the individual identity . . . and policy preference."

[1973, pp.112-113]

(e) Explanations of events, that is, one's theory of cause and effect in the world and society. (f) Epistemology. One's capacity for abstracting from experience, for employing experiences comparatively and analytically.

Therefore, according to Lane, in order to understand why a person holds the attitudes he does the researcher has to find out his core belief system and his way of reasoning. Not his rating on an R-C dimension which might predict most of his other attitudes but does not explain and can not account for deviations, which might appear irrational to a researcher's logical and political consistency paradigm but be quite rational in reference to one's needs, goals and thoughts.<sup>38</sup>

By extension, knowledge as to the why of attitude clusterings will be gained by examining the reality situation in which people find themselves and by examining their personal needs. This is so, because the "core belief system" of a person is created so as to serve two functions: (a) external functions, and (b) internal functions. External functions serve as - guidance to reality and social adjustment. They are related to the functional question "how do a person's opinions help him to satisfy his needs and achieve his purposes?" - advanced by Brewster Smith. Internal functions refer to the question "why are beliefs adopted, eroded, changed?" By noting the needs gratified or the purposes served this second question can be answered.

Lane's work on the analysis of political beliefs has been of great importance and psychologists like Brewster Smith 1973 have started working in the direction of similar ideas, trying to incorporate the concepts of agency, identity and reasoning in the psychological accounts of political behaviour. Of course, it is very early to evaluate the results of this line of thought but it can be seen that

the great step, in questioning the all pervasive power of the R-C dimension as the main explanatory psychological variable for the analysis of political behaviour, has been taken.

On the other hand, some evidence exists to discourage heavy reliance on people's thinking and core belief systems in explaining their political attitudes and beliefs. Sears (1969) reports that people find few ego-involving issues to which they devote serious thinking and from which they gain significant psychological satisfaction, while many of their opinions are formed without any informational basis. And according to Greenstein:

"... as a result of the political inattentiveness of most citizens political orientations are often acquired haphazardly, without engaging deeper personality sources."

[1969, p.124]

However, one has to start with the assumption that people try to be rational. That they think before they act or speak, and that they strive for consistency of beliefs and behaviour. Cases where this does not seem to be true have to be treated as exceptions rather than the rule. Otherwise, there is no basis on which to infer anything from what people say and ultimately this renders their sayings meaningless.

In this study, in which the functional approach for the analysis of personality and political behaviour is favoured,



politico-economic ideology is seen as part of one's personality, and its relationship to the rest of the personality variables is assumed to be functional in psychological terms.

Summarizing this review of the R-C concept the following points can be made:

- (1) R-C has been used as an organizing variable to account for one's politicoeconomic ideology.
- (2) R-C has been used as an organizing variable to account for one's personality orientation.
- (3) The existence of R-C as an ideological dimension of political attitudes has been questioned.
- (4) R-C is not any more considered to be the main dimension in the organization of political attitudes.
- (5) Research on the "Conservative personality" syndrome has incorporated the research on the "authoritarian personality" syndrome and has proceeded along the same lines, while research on the "liberal, egalitarian or democratic, personality" syndrome is lacking.
- (6) R-C politicoeconomic ideology is predictive of political behaviour.  
R-C personality orientations are partly predictive of R-C ideology but not of political behaviour.<sup>39</sup>

## 2. Its Relationship to Political Activity

Studies on student activism report an overall higher relationship of radicalism or liberalism<sup>40</sup> rather than conservatism to activism. But attention is paid to the fact that conservatives should - according to their ideology - and do - according to facts - exhibit different types of political behaviour than radicals. Nevertheless, radicals remain more active than conservatives.

Kerpelman, who systematically studied students from all ideologies describes "left activists" as those "who aim at radically changing the social and political structure mainly by working upon it"; "center activists" as those "who predominantly aim toward gradually improving that structure by working within it"; and "right activists" as those "who aim predominantly toward strictly keeping societal structures from changing rapidly by working within the structure" [1972, p.113]. In comparing them he found leftists to be high in political activity and in the desire to be politically active, rightists to be less active and to express little desire to be active, and moderates to be moderately active and to express a moderate desire to be active. Even so, he concludes that commitment to politics is a better predictor of political activism than ideology.

Block, Haan and Smith (1974) in studying political activists talk of several categories of activists. One of these includes the commonly recognized group of radicals for whom they write:

"... they have rejected major values of contemporary society and have dedicated themselves to fight, demonstrate, and protest actively against policies and institutions of mainstream American society that violate their sense of humane justice."

[p.73]

Their ideology might not be homogeneous but, in any case, it is of a radical, left-wing or anticonformist direction. Of another distinct category of activists they write:

". . . [they] are involved with political-social issues and accept the traditional American values and authority structure. Their political-social commitments are directed to maintain the status quo or even to re-establish an era of unhampered individualism. Their activities include petitioning, letter-writing campaigns, active support of conservative candidates and policies, and techniques of counterprotest as they seek to reinforce the positions of traditional institutional authority. Although participants in demonstrations or members of picket lines, these young people confine their activities to legal forms of protest and reject the tactics of civil disobedience."

[p.72]

Even though not ideologically homogeneous as a group they are commonly identified as conservatives. It is the same group of people whom Schiff calls the "obedient rebels" and of whom he writes:

". . . Keynoting the style of the movement 'in action' was a passive, though frequently enthusiastic obedience to duly constituted leaders, strict hierarchical social organization and a general dependence on adult figures to provide both programs and direction."

[1964, p.94]

Thus, not confining political activism to radical (left-wing) activity, conservatives are an active group which engages in approved and consistent with the main cultural trends activities, on the whole less active than their radical counterparts. The pro-establishment politics and moderate forms of activity of the conservatives is in accord with Wilson's theory of conservatism being a personality characteristic of playing safe and avoiding risk-taking behaviour, created out of a generalized fear of uncertainty.

The differences in the type of activity exhibited by the two different ideological groups can be accounted for by the same theory of the genesis of conservatism as a personality characteristic. Conservatives, because of their fear of uncertainty, avoid risk taking and anti-conformist behaviour which might involve confrontations with the police or militancy towards the authorities, etc. which characterize the activities of radical groups, who are assumed to be free of this generalized fear of uncertainty.

But if the differences in the type of activity engaged in can be explained by the theory of conservatism, the differences in the level or intensity of the activity reported for the two groups can not be accounted for by the same theory. There is nothing in the psychological theory of conservatism which makes for lower intensity expectancies of activism for conservatives in comparison to radicals. Nor can the ideological differences of the two different politico-economic systems be regarded as the cause of the different intensities of activity exhibited.

Sears (1969) claims that ideological principles do not have much influence on behaviour because people are unable to apply them in practice; and Wood (1974) suggests that radical political conscience, rather than liberalism-conservatism, gives rise to radical political activity.

Taking together the above mentioned findings on the relationship of radicalism-conservatism to political activism, it

can be concluded that, (a) radicalism is conducive to reformist political activity while conservatism to conventional political activity, and good theoretical reasons exist to account for these differences; and (b) radicalism is conducive to a higher level of political activity than conservatism. Although there are no theoretical reasons to expect this and the two groups should be potentially equal in activism, considering the findings of Kerpelman and Wood - above - it could be suggested here that since it is the 'reformist spirit' rather than anything else which contributes to higher levels of activism, it must be the present social conditions which allow for it to be incorporated in left-wing rather than right-wing politics. In other words, nowadays, the feeling that more things should be changed rather than retained, that the bad things outnumber the good things, is stronger and this makes for more demands towards reformation, of liberal or left orientation, which ultimately, by providing more opportunities for left-wing activity, makes radicals more active and conservatives less active.

### 3. Measurement

#### (a) Problems of Measurement

The measurement of politico-economic R-C is closely connected to the measurement of R-C as a general personality characteristic because most of the time it is defined as just one of its many composing variables.

The problems that the measurement of R-C faces arise mainly from two controversial points of its definition:

(i) Is R-C a personality trait measured through attitudes or is it an orientation of political ideologies and policy opinions? In the first case politico-economic R-C is of little significance and it is usually measured by one or two items in an R-C scale measuring R-C as a personality syndrome. From these items it can be inferred - at the maximum - whether the person answering favours 'capitalism' or 'socialism', without further qualifications of what the two terms imply.<sup>41</sup>

In the second case politico-economic R-C is one of the main issues and emphasis is given in the specific policy opinions that one holds. In this case the problem is that the content of a particular R-C scale can not be very stable because it has to adjust all the time to the particular content and direction that policy matters take at different times and places.<sup>42</sup> What used to be radical ten years ago is not any more, and that which characterizes conservatism in Russia today can not be used to measure conservatism in the U.S. for example.

(ii) Is R-C unidimensional, multi-dimensional or does it not exist at all? The problem of how many dimensions to use in order to measure R-C seems to me to be the problem of where to measure R-C. Those studying R-C at the level of general and broad social attitudes, defining it as a complex of many different attitudes, use one continuum of R-C and are satisfied by the results.<sup>43</sup> Those studying opinions and attitudes on specific issues find that a 'left-right' continuum is not enough; they need more dimensions of R-C, the number of which depends on the context and the issues at hand.

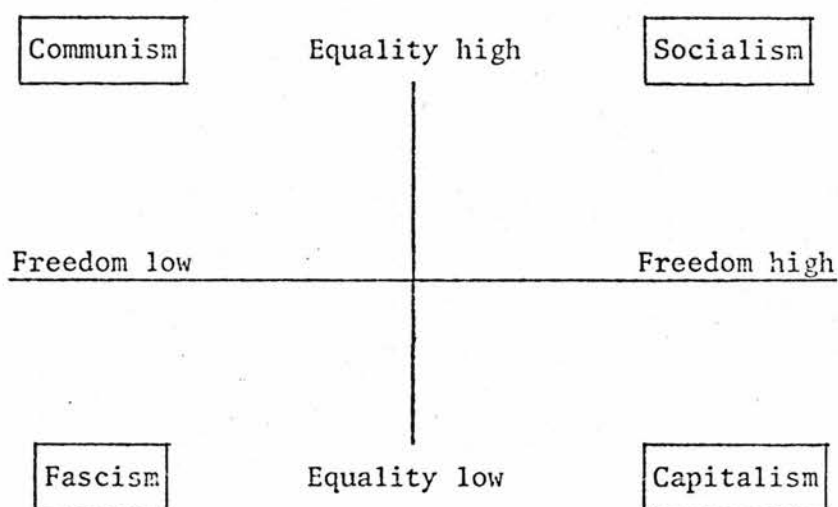
For example, Hughes (1975) who tried to measure R-C in Australia found that in order to define 'left' and 'right' in Australian politics he needed three dimensions of radicalism. Policy questions were grouped in clusters but generalizations could not be made from one cluster to another. Yet Hughes must be considered to be lucky in comparison to what the Social Research Center and Sears (1969) report to be the case with American politics. They could not define any clusters other than of mixed R-C content and they proposed to dispose of the continuum as an explanatory variable and look at other variables with more predictive power like party identification, reference groups, etc.

Rokeach after critically examining the conceptual and measurement problems of R-C as a dimension of political ideology suggested an alternative two-value theory for the study of it. He was particularly troubled by the inability of R-C to be used cross-culturally and ahistorically and by its unidimensionality which forced radicals into being something more than liberals and conservatives something less than reactionaries. He started with the assumption that some identifiable values must underlie variations in political ideology. Given the unequal distribution of power in our society, differences in perceived self-interest exist, which when ideologically expressed must be reflected in the two values of "freedom" and "equality". Following this line of reasoning Rokeach claimed that the main varieties of political orientation - communism, socialism, capitalism and fascism - can be placed in the four corners of the two orthogonal axes of "freedom" and "equality". Thus by

knowing a person's regard for these two values his place in reference to the above political ideologies can be decided. (See Figure 5 for a schematic representation of this theory.)

FIGURE 4 : "A Freedom-Equality Model of Political Variations"

Adapted from Rokeach, [1973, p.170]



Of course Rokeach has done away with the problems of an R-C scale, tapping on specific issues and in ways which are not very stable, but he has done this at the cost of nearly losing any connection with these issues. Because the value foundations of one's political ideology is not a very accurate predictor of one's behaviour or policy opinions. The relationship of values to everyday behaviour is far from a direct one - as Rokeach himself acknowledges - and as Greenstein also notes, many times one's political opinions are



acquired haphazardly without engaging other personality traits (as quoted above).

In conclusion it can be said that the measurement of R-C has become problematic because, although R-C is still by the majority of researchers considered to be a major dimension of political ideology, it has been rendered insufficient to account solely by itself for it. Moreover, it has been repeatedly found that everyday issues do not reflect political ideology very accurately. Politicoeconomic R-C, although theoretically corresponding to different ideologies, is not always espoused by people as such, who prefer to hold their opinions in regard to certain issues independently of their opinions in regard to other issues.<sup>44</sup>

(b) How it is Measured Here

Politicoeconomic ideology is measured in this study in two ways. Thus, the shortcomings of each method, it is hoped, will be compensated for by the advantages of the other method.

Since Rokeach's argument about the importance of a cross-culturally used method is of high relevance here, his two-value model was accepted and used.<sup>45</sup> Thus, politicoeconomic ideology is measured at a level higher than that of the everyday issues which very often do not clearly reflect it.

On the other hand, by also using a more traditional method for measuring R-C, contact with specific opinions is kept. The R-C

scale by Nettler and Huffman (1957) is used which requires people to express their degree of agreement or disagreement with reference to aspects of the capitalist and the socialist economic systems.<sup>46</sup> Thus, a measure of a person's favouritism is taken in respect to either of the systems, at a policy implications level. The content of the questions is fairly basic to either politicoeconomic system so that the possibility of changing direction is rather minimal. It is more probable that some of the items must have lost their significance over time or place, but in either case the rest of the items and the value measures should compensate for the 'lost' items.

#### D. AUTHORITARIANISM

##### 1. "The Authoritarian Personality"

"This is a special theory of a particular type of political-social orientation that I would myself place in a broader framework of functional theory . . . The theory is better than much of the research that has been adduced to support or to refute it. It is still very much alive and relevant."

[Brewster Smith 1973, p.73]

The amount of research and criticism concerning the theory and the measurement of the authoritarian personality makes any attempt to adequately summarize them a very difficult task. What should one choose to say about authoritarianism from the vast amount of literature surrounding it? Here a summary of the well known

ideas about the authoritarian personality is attempted, before the relationship of authoritarianism to politics is considered.

"The Authoritarian Personality", when it was published in 1950 in the United States, represented an original effort in understanding the phenomenon of prejudice. The main objectives of this research were to show that attitudes held by a person were related to other attitudes held by that person and that ideology was related to personality. Based on a series of studies using questionnaires, interviews and projective tests, on hundreds of people, both prejudiced and non-prejudiced, the authors of "The Authoritarian Personality" moved from a specific study of anti-semitism to ethnocentrism and potential fascism in order to come up with an underlying personality complex, namely the authoritarian, which was related to all of the above.

Their two main variables were ideology, which they conceived as an organization of opinions, attitudes and values in various spheres, and personality, which they conceived as an organization of needs, either in harmony or conflict, varying in degree of intensity, quality and object.<sup>47</sup> In describing the authoritarian personality later on the authors covered both these areas of interest and thus one can look at authoritarianism in terms of its phenomenology, its dynamics and its genesis.<sup>48</sup>

(a) The phenomenology of authoritarianism:

Here one is interested in the beliefs and attitudes that characterize an authoritarian person. As described by the Berkeley

authors authoritarian beliefs and attitudes share traits of conventionalism, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, anti-intraception, superstition and stereotypy, power and "toughness", destructiveness and cynicism, projectivity and puritanical preoccupation with sex, and idealization of parents and self.

(b) The dynamics of authoritarianism:

Here one is concerned with the why of the above phenomenological regularities. The answer given by the Berkeley studies is that the main cause lies in the authoritarian's intense and ambivalent feelings of love and hate towards the authority. i.e. His intense feelings of hate for authority are repressed and channelled towards making him weak and servile to those above and tyrannical to those below. His need to express unconscious hostility causes him, through projection, to see the world as full of dangerous people who must be punished and his feelings of personal weakness are covered by a facade of toughness. In summary, the authoritarian is an ego-defensive type characterized by irrationality in his efforts to defend the self against the conflicting demands of conscience and impulses.

(c) The genesis of authoritarianism:

Here one is concerned with the underlying dynamics of authoritarianism. The Berkeley authors searched for them in the childhood experiences of their subjects and they report a tendency towards rigid discipline, conditional affection, clearly defined roles of dominance and submission, poorly channelized hostility

and aggression and fearful subservience, to dominate the early families of the authoritarians.

This is in a brief and simple way what Adorno et al. described as the 'authoritarian personality'. Today after nearly 30 years of research and criticism of their work evidence has accumulated mainly on the phenomenology and covariation of authoritarianism, due to the extensive use of the F Scale - which will be discussed later. The evidence here is supportive to the original findings. Authoritarianism goes with ethnocentrism, with prejudice, with conservatism, with anti-intraception, etc.

As far as the dynamics of authoritarianism are concerned there are two lines of thought taken. One which accepts the ego-defensiveness of the authoritarian personality, and follows the psycho-analytic method; and one which accepts the same phenomenology of authoritarianism but assigns it to cognitive authoritarianism rather than defensive and follows the methods of learning theory. Here the authoritarian characteristics are supposed to be based upon learned conceptions of reality and authoritarian behaviour to be an accurate reflection of conditions of life in a certain culture or subculture. The so called 'working class authoritarianism' is a phenomenon that could be explained in this way.<sup>49</sup> Ego-defensive authoritarianism and cognitive authoritarianism do not exclude each other, to the contrary, evidence seems to support the existence of both for different groups of people. Thus, Greenstein 1969 concludes a review of "the authoritarianism typology" by suggesting that "working-class authoritarianism" might have its roots in cognitive

learning, while authoritarianism of the higher socio-economic levels might have its roots in deeper personality sources.

Finally, in regard to the genesis of authoritarianism there seems to be some acceptance as to the central role of the family and early socialization experiences.

There are, of course, theories which try to explain authoritarianism in terms of social structure and economic features of social organization. For example, Fromm in "The Fear of Freedom" (1950), which was the precursor of "The Authoritarian Personality", develops an explanation of modern man's personality along these lines. But this is by no means an alternative to what Adorno et al. believe to be the cause of authoritarian personality. It is only an explanation at a different level. An examination of causal factors in the distal social environment, which do not affect the individual directly but rather through its immediate environment.

In conclusion the term 'authoritarian personality' refers to a group of attitudes which covary with other specific attitudes and which have their roots in family, social class or education. The whys of the authoritarian character is not a settled matter. Some researchers tend to see its origins in deep seated motives and needs, and others in the social environment and life situations.

## 2. Its Relationship to Political Activity

The main target of "The Authoritarian Personality" was ethnic prejudice. But its psychological insights throw light also

on the phenomena of leadership and followership, to true believers and the irrationality of many social and political phenomena. It made psychological sense out of social irrationality and captured the imagination of scholars and laymen alike.

"The concern about authoritarianism, perhaps more than anything else, stems from its likely influence on functioning of people in their social activities; authoritarian deeds have more social consequence than authoritarian thoughts."

[Kirscht and Dillehay 1967, p.2]

Research spread widely after it both attacking and criticising its method and findings, and applying its instruments. It has been applied to purely clinical and personality studies as well as to socio-psychological ones. Authoritarianism has been related to social stratification, beliefs and attitudes, personality variables, group processes, leadership and organizational functioning.<sup>50</sup> Its original central role in political psychology has been even more strengthened.

"The importance of authoritarianism to the understanding of political behaviour lies in its utility in predicting such things as political participation, adoption of liberal or conservative ideology, and the like, as well as predicting the tendency to join Fascist political movements."

[Stone 1974, p.153]

Of relevance to this thesis is the relationship of authoritarianism to political participation. But its strong relationship to political ideology can not be ignored. Authoritarianism was considered in its genesis as a right-wing phenomenon.



As Brown (1965) comments the Berkeley authors interpreted fascism as "a movement of extreme right conservatism", and expected anti-Semitic and ethnocentric attitudes to characterize right-wing politics in America as they did in Germany. Moreover, the authors were not interested at the time with the so called 'authoritarianism of the left' because disillusionment with communism was not yet strong while the fear of fascism was still near.

This original relationship, however, of authoritarianism to right-wing ideology became the target of much criticism. Eysenck (1954) through his proposed dimension of "tough-tender-mindedness" described communists and fascists as having similar type of political attitudes.<sup>51</sup> Rokeach (1960) suggested that communists and fascists have similar cognitive styles. General authoritarianism was conceived as "a mode of thought rather than a set of beliefs", and has been given the name "dogmatism".<sup>52</sup> Brown (1965) however comments that although many people talk of the authoritarianism of the left nobody has succeeded in demonstrating ". . . that fascists and communists resemble one another in authoritarianism or in any other dimension of ideology" (p.542). Moreover it would be naive to expect that all people who associate with an extremist movement would have the same personality characteristics. Thus, the evidence remains that, as long as authoritarianism is conceived and measured in a way similar to its original conceptualization and measurement, an association of authoritarian attitudes and right-wing political ideology should be expected.



The relationship of authoritarianism to political activity has been definitely a negative one for left-wing politics. In the general population it has also been found to be a negative one for political participation in general. For example Sanford (1950) reports lower authoritarianism for those active or committed to politics. He also reports lower authoritarianism for voters versus non-voters. Lane (1955) found that Republicans were more authoritarian than Democrats. He also found (1958) a tendency for damaged father-son relations to lead to authoritarian attitudes of the son, which resulted in political apathy. However, apart from authoritarianism which originated in father-son conflict, Lane (1955) says that political participation should be equal for both authoritarians and egalitarians, but for different reasons. He believes that authoritarians who participate do so as a result of conformity to group pressures and an anticipation of profit; while egalitarians who participate do so because of a sense of importance of their contribution to political matters.

In fact, Stone (1974) refers to a study done in 1952 with college students as participants, where the usual relationship of authoritarianism to political apathy failed to emerge.<sup>53</sup> However, studies carried out after the rise of the student movement with college students, provide evidence for a relationship of low authoritarianism with political activism. This relationship, however, might be attributed to the left-wing nature of student politics. For example, Kerpelman (1972) who studied student activists of all political ideologies, reports an "authoritarianism" factor to be the

most differentiating amongst the various groups of political activists. Right-wing students, both active and inactive were the highest on authoritarianism, while left-wing activists were the lowest. Watts and Whittaker (1966) found that activists in the Free Speech Movement in Berkeley were characterized by greater flexibility in their personalities than the rest of the students. Since flexibility is a non-authoritarian characteristic the above finding suggests lower authoritarianism for participants than non-participants.

### 3. Measurement

In "The Authoritarian Personality" there are several scales reported to have been used for the measurement of various variables. One of them, constructed for the measurement of personality characteristics underlying the acceptance of fascist ideology, is the well known F Scale. Because of heavy reliance on this instrument by both the original authors and the subsequent researchers the F scale has become "the working definition" of authoritarianism.

It consists of items tapping various sociopolitical attitudes on the assumption that positive or negative responses to them arise directly from deep inner psychological patterns. Of course this assumption can be a valid or an invalid one and evidence up to now is far from conclusive.<sup>54</sup>

Apart from it, which is a problem within the nature of the phenomenon measured, the F Scale itself has received all sorts of criticisms and attacks.<sup>55</sup>

Hyman and Sheatsley (1954) criticized the sampling, the method, the statistical analysis, the controlling of the variables and the lack of alternative explanations offered, in the research using the F Scale and reported in "The Authoritarian Personality", concluding that its findings could not be generalized in the least.

Shils (1954) argued that the F Scale was a measure only of right-wing authoritarianism, rather than of general authoritarianism. Eysenck's (1954) two-dimensional theory of political attitudes seemed to solve this problem by drawing similarities between Fascists and Communists on the "tough-mindedness" dimension. But this theory has been severely criticized by Christie (1956a,b) and Rokeach and Hanley (1956).<sup>56</sup> Later Rokeach (1960), accepting the thesis that the F Scale was a measure of right-wing authoritarianism, and on the assumption that authoritarianism is better defined as a mode of cognition rather than a set of beliefs, tried to develop a scale that would measure general authoritarianism in the sense of strongly held beliefs of any ideology.<sup>57</sup>

The role of response bias or acquiescence in determining F Scale scores has been much discussed. But results as to what its specific effect is differ with the different types of acquiescence measures used. One way of measuring the effects of response bias or acquiescence is to take correlations of F Scale scores with agreement response scales scores.

Another way of measuring it is to use reversals of the F Scale and again take the correlations of the scores from the two types of scales. But results from both methods can not be fully accepted because factors other than response bias might have influenced them. Also F negative items seldom show variances and variabilities comparable to the originals and they always have lower reliabilities. To conclude with a comment of Kirscht and Dillehay, response bias ". . . does not have clearcut status as a legitimate explanatory mechanism in the theory of authoritarianism" [1967, p.30]

Many other researchers have been concerned with the effects of intelligence, education, age and minority groups membership on F Scale scores.<sup>58</sup> Still the F Scale, far from perfect, has two major advantages over the rest of the measures of authoritarianism.

(a) It has a rich theoretical background. It springs from a theory rich in hypotheses and insights which has led to a huge body of research rendering the use of the F Scale interesting and relevant.

(b) It has not been proven inferior to any of the scales that were constructed as corrective of it. Most of them have not overcome the response bias problem anyway, their reliabilities and variabilities are lower, their use very limited, and their correlations with the original F Scale are so high that their separate existence is hardly justified.<sup>59</sup>

In this study the F Scale is used as a measure of authoritarianism in its shortened version of the original, Form 40/45.<sup>60</sup> The problems of education, age, intelligence and minority group membership effects on F Scale scores are partly overcome here because both samples are fairly homogeneous on these variables and they score on them towards the direction that affects authoritarianism negatively.

The effect of response bias or acquiescence on F Scale scores is there, as it is in any other questionnaire measure of any variable. The sophistication of the sample, however, will hopefully work towards controlling it and in any case response bias is not an "explanatory mechanism" for authoritarianism, as measured by the F Scale.

The problem of the limitation of the F Scale as a measure of right-wing authoritarianism only is faced in the following way. It is suggested that extremely low F scores will be treated cautiously. Extreme views are not the characteristic of democratic tendencies nor rigidity the characteristic of psychological 'health'. Thus, extremely low authoritarianism, if it emerges in the present samples, will be perceived as indicative of left-wing dogmatism and not of democratic personality.

## E. SELF-EVALUATION

### 1. Definition

Evaluation of self can be seen as a process the result of which has implications about one's self-esteem, feelings of personal worth, ego-strength, self-acceptance, competence, etc. All of these concepts are often used interchangeably to refer to pretty much the same hypothetical construct which expresses a "personal judgement" concerning one's attitude of worthiness towards one's self.<sup>61</sup> This construct has been of main significance in both personality and social psychological theory and research. For example, it has a central role in the theories of Rogers, Murphy, Adler, etc. It has also been used as an intervening variable in explaining attitude change, persuasibility, alienation, etc. In particular, low self-esteem has been related to social disturbances, various forms of personal and group dissatisfaction, feelings of alienation and unhappiness in life.

### 2. Its Relationship to Political Activity

What is central to the concept of self-evaluation is the attitude of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with self, of approval or disapproval of self, and of feelings of worthiness or worthlessness of self. In the present thesis self-evaluation is considered as an expression of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with self. As such it is of central importance to political activism. It is in the centre of the debate of whether radical activists are in rebellion because of personal problems, frustration, alienation, etc., or whether they are revolting because of higher morality, psychological integration, maturity, and so on.<sup>62</sup>

Haan, Smith and Block (1968) found that both types of activists exist. There are activists who are "ego-competent", and activists who are not. What distinguishes between the two is their level of moral reasoning. "Principled" activists were fighting for their ideals. In their self-descriptions they were overall candid about themselves, exhibiting the smallest discrepancy between real and ideal on the concept of "rebelliousness". Yet, women's self-descriptions tended to be dysphoric, expressing a sense of guilt and an ambivalence as far as their role was concerned. "Premoral level" activists were the alienated who fought for personal needs. They had the greatest overall discrepancy between real and ideal self.

Keniston (1965) in his analysis of the "uncommitted" youth reports a negative self-image as one of its characteristics.

Baird (1970) analyzing data from 29 colleges in 1964-65 in the United States from a big sample of students, reports that activists were self-confident and were not likely "to have had psychotherapy or counseling". They were power-oriented, but not in order to overcome feelings of powerlessness. To the contrary they had a potential for leadership, confidence and a desire to serve.

Finally Altbach (1966), considering the situation in which students find themselves in general, and especially in developing countries, suggests that their feelings of superiority in relation

to the rest of their age group and the majority of the population is one of the factors contributing to their involvement in social movements and "their desire to create a better society".

### 3. Measurement

#### (a) Problems of Measurement<sup>63</sup>

Self-esteem has been a difficult variable to operationalize well. Robinson and Shaver report that there must have been around 200 scales in the literature purporting to measure it, most of them used only once [1969, p.45]. Some of the difficulties encountered in its measurement are due to the nature of the concept itself and some to the techniques employed for it. The major methodological problems - as discussed by Sherwood (1965)<sup>64</sup> - are the following:

- (i) Level of self-esteem is considered to be a stable characteristic of every individual. Assessed though in a particular time and setting might be heavily influenced by temporary factors of success or failure, calmness or embarrassment.
- (ii) The subject is evaluating himself as an object. Being simultaneously both the evaluator and the evaluated is affected by factors of defense and bias, which differ in degree from person to person.
- (iii) Self-esteem is based on attitudes toward self, and attitudes can be both conscious and unconscious.
- (iv) Self-esteem is a global concept comprising many dimensions on which the subject evaluates himself and we do not usually know what these dimensions are or what their relative significance for the particular person is.

Thus an instrument, that would meet the requirements relevant to the above methodological problems, should be able to



penetrate through the temporary fluctuations, defenses and biases to the basic structure and elements of self-esteem, and embrace conscious and unconscious attitudes, as well as the most important dimensions of self-esteem for all respondents.

Not a single instrument can succeed in this but it is even doubtful whether all of the existing together can. All of the techniques used lack in validity - except for face-validity. Construct validity has not been established for any of these, and reliability measures are rarely provided.

The most usual way of measuring self-esteem is by means of actual-ideal self discrepancies. That is a subject describes himself first as he is and then as he would like to be; the differences between the two provide the index of self-esteem. Three problems are obvious in this technique. First how will the difference be computed? Usually the absolute size of the discrepancy is considered but this lacks standardization. Second, how much an accurate indication of self-esteem is this real-ideal self discrepancy? How do we know that the subject feels it as such and is concerned with it? Especially when it is indicated that "ideal self" measures approach a cultural stereotype with little variation in its description?<sup>65</sup> Third, how do we know the percentage of truth versus social desirability in the answers of any subject? Since we know that people are many times influenced in their self-descriptions by the need to put on a 'good face', how are we to know whether a small discrepancy is in fact a small

discrepancy rather than a big discrepancy covered? People also differ in their degree of "expressivity", that is whether when rating themselves or somebody else, they do it generously or conservatively, (Bronfenbrenner, 1958). Several techniques, i.e. Q-sorts, Semantic Differential Scales, Likert-type Scales, Check Lists, Projective and Open Ended Measures and Forced Choice Measures have been used for measuring self-esteem in terms of real-ideal self-discrepancies, each trying to smooth different edges of the problem, (Crowne, Stephens and Kelly, 1961).

(b) How it is Measured Here

In this study use was made of the technique of the Semantic Differential for the measurement of real-ideal self discrepancies.

The Semantic Differential was mainly chosen for three reasons:

- (i) It is a technique rather than a scale, thus allowing for great flexibility of content. Since the ten scales used for the measurement of actual and ideal self were to be used for the measurement of four more concepts, it was important for the purposes of the study that whatever was thought to be of importance and relevance to all of the five concepts might be included in a single measure.<sup>66</sup>
- (ii) Some scales load very high on the evaluative factor of the Semantic Differential and this is very much in accord with the flavour of evaluation this variable is meant to have.
- (iii) It faces the three problems of the actual-ideal self discrepancies technique. First, Osgood and Suci (1952) provided a formula for calculating the actual-ideal discrepancies taking into account the mean differences in scores and the profile of each subject, which is a more sophisticated method than the measurement of absolute size differences. Second, by using the concept 'My Ideal Self' instead of 'The Ideal Self' a better measure of the 'aspired self' is taken rather than of the cultural stereotype. This is a solution mainly offered by Sherwood (1965) for the purposes of taking measures that have

significance and relation to the subjects' feelings and behaviour. Finally, for the case of self evaluation, the Semantic Differential offers a partial solution to the problem of social desirability influence. It is only scales high on the evaluative dimension that relate significantly to social desirability scores - as measured by the Crowne and Marlow scales - but not scales high on potency or activity, [Pervin and Lilly, 1967]. This leaves more than half of the scales free of social desirability effects.

Moreover, in this particular study the self evaluation results of the Semantic Differential can be compared to the internal-external control results of the Rotter Scale which measures a theoretically similar concept.

A partial solution by use of the Semantic Differential is also offered to the problem of differences in expressivity among the subjects. By rating a concept on a bipolar 7-point scale expressivity can at most make a difference of one point in either direction which will not cause any serious bias on the results.

F. CLOSENESS TO PARENTS: SELF-PARENTS SIMILARITY AND PARENTAL EVALUATION

1. Definition

Closeness to parents implies the description of one's self as being similar to one's parent (or parents), and the expression of positive feelings about one or both parents.

Similarities between one's self and one's parents is commonly used as an index of identification of self with parents. However, the concept of parental identification, aside its difficulties

to be operationalized, is so broad and heterogeneous in its meaning that it makes one really wonder whether it means anything any more.

The concept of parental identification was first used by Freud, in a way relevant to his theory, describing a mostly unconscious process of integrating parental standards into one's personality. Gradually, through its use by ego-oriented psychoanalysts, it encompassed conscious processes as well, and it was "given an important place in sound character development, successful psychotherapy, harmonious individual-group relations and the like", [Sanford, 1955, p.111]. But identification in general, again as coined and used by Freud, was a mechanism, mostly unrealistic, unconscious, adaptive in the short term and maladaptive in the long run, espoused by a person in therapy and in other crisis situations. Sanford (1955) argues against the merging of these two processes into a single term 'identification' and urges the limited use of the term only for the second process.

Identification appealed also to theorists of learning and interpersonal perception.<sup>67</sup> They too used it in various ways but the following one is the most common: the modelling of oneself in thought, feeling or action after another person. In this sense 'parental identification' implied proper sex-identification,<sup>68</sup> and it was therefore related to 'good adjustment' to one's role in life.

As such parental identification has received much interest from researchers in the field of student activism. The relationship

of adjustment and personality functioning to political involvement is at the centre of a debate as to the origins of student activism. As was mentioned before the concept of self-evaluation is one of the central elements in this debate. Another element is the concept of parental identification. Do the activists identify with their parents or do they react against them?

However, in the present study the term 'self-parents similarity' has been adopted instead of 'parental-identification', in the belief that it describes best what is actually measured and what it is that most of the studies actually talk about. Parental identification suffers not only from definitional ambiguities but its operational definitions are also at stake, as will be discussed later. Of course 'self-parents similarity' does not sound as much an explanatory and important variable as 'parental identification' does, but in cases where the explanatory power of a concept is seriously questioned it is better to stick closer to descriptions in my opinion.

The study of the nature of one's feelings towards one's parents as a possible source of motivation owes again its rationale to psychoanalytic principles. However, as was the case above, it has not been confined to psychoanalysis. Negative feelings towards one's parents have a central role in the concept of 'family or generational conflict'. They are indicative of conflictual or distant relationship with parents. Thus, in the context of the conflict of generations, parental evaluation has extended from the

field of personality to the field of social psychology and sociology. It has been related to concepts such as child-rearing practices, technological and intellectual advances, social institutions and their structure, socialization environment and values. The conflict of the generations is a very broad concept and it can mean anything from distant relations between parents and children to hostility and actual struggle between them.

In relation to student activism it has been one of the main holistic explanations of the phenomenon. It encompasses mainly two aspects of the parents-child relationship. The emotional one and the ideological one. That is "activists express hostile feelings towards their parents" and "activists reject the values of their parents". Or from those arguing counter to the "generation gap" hypothesis, but still focusing on the parents-child relations, "activists express positive feelings about their parents" and "activists act out the values of their parents".

The present study focuses on the evaluation of parents in terms of weighted attributes, as was the case with self-evaluation. Thus it examines an emotional aspect of the parents-child relationship rather than an ideological one.<sup>69</sup> Thus parental evaluation is considered here as a judgement of "how good a father my father is" and "how good a mother my mother is", coupled with a more general evaluation statement about "my family".

## 2. Its Relationship to Political Activity

Closeness to parents has been conceptualized and studied in three ways in the literature: (a) as a direct expression of feelings towards parents, (b) as the nature of the parents-child relationship, and (c) as the identification with parental values. Overall, the findings from most studies seem to indicate that activists report, at best, ambivalent feelings towards their parents, conflictual family relationships, and similar ideological and value orientations to their parents. At the present state of the literature, however, the conflict between the "intergenerational continuity" versus the "intergenerational conflict" explanation of student activism has not been solved. Data exist to support both these explanations. Thus the question as to whether activists 'act out', in the political sphere, feelings towards their parents which originated in the family, or whether they come from healthy families where conflict is overt and acceptable, remains unanswered.<sup>70</sup>

Keniston (1967) reports an accentuated ambivalence, with activism, for the parent of the same sex.<sup>71</sup> He also says that activists criticize their fathers for failure to implement in their lives preached values. They consider them less "sincere" or "hypocritical". Keniston believes that male activists have deeper emotional ties with their mothers. Although they want to implement the values of their fathers, they identify more with their mothers who show a "nurturant concern" for others in their jobs.<sup>72</sup>

Braungart (1971) however found no support for the "closeness to mother" hypothesis put forward by Keniston. His sample consisted



of 1246 students both activists and inactivists. His data support the hypothesis that activists are more distant from their parents than inactivists. Nonetheless, students in general identified with, more often than being alienated from, both their parents. Females sometimes identified only with their mother, while male activists identified less frequently with their mothers than the other groups.

Finally, Clarke and Egan (1971) report that parental disapproval was associated with left activism, for their group of Florida University students.

Feuer (1969) is a main proponent of "the conflict of the generations" hypothesis. He claims that the origins of the student rebellion are to be found in an unresolved Oedipus complex. Student activists are "antagonistic to the established social order" because they are essentially antagonistic to parental values and authority. He calls the student movement an "emotional rebellion" because he believes that it derives from the conflict of the generations which has its roots in unconscious sources.

Block, Maan and Smith (1974) report conflictual relations between activists and their parents. This supports Feuer's thesis of the conflict of the generations, but not his psychoanalytic treatment of the matter, since relations are overtly conflictual in the family, although protest - and therefore transference to the political sphere - has occurred.



Flacks (1967), in contrast to "the generational conflict" explanation, supports "the generational continuity" hypothesis. His data support the hypothesis that activists are of the same ideological and value orientation with their parents. They also report that their parents were more permissive, "softer", and "milder" than the parents of the inactivists.

Lane's (1959) findings, based on adults, are also counter to Feuer's hypothesis. He writes:

"... of those youth with rebellious feelings against their fathers there are a few for whom the rebellion takes political form; and . . . there is a tendency for moderately damaged father-son relations to be associated with relatively low levels of hope, interest, and capacity to criticize political leaders."

[p.510]

Finally Wood (1974) has attempted a synthesis of "the intergenerational conflict and continuity" hypotheses. He has tried to integrate the two themes of parental conflict and identification into a single theory of protest and its relationship to parental relations of the activists. He claims that activists act out radical political values derived from their parents, who to their eyes have not lived up to them. This creates ambivalence in their relations with their parents, which however improve after they start protesting.

### 3. Measurement

There are several difficulties in operationalizing the variable "parental identification". The Measurement of this concept

is usually done in one of the following three ways: (a) search for tested resemblances between child and parent, (b) search for similarities between child and parent as perceived by the child and (c) search for similarities between child and parent as assessed by projective tests. All of them, however, suffer a major deficiency. They do not fully correspond to the accepted theoretical definition of the term as "the modelling of oneself in thought, feeling, or action after another person", because, as explained again by Bronfenbrenner (1958), they do not assure us that these similarities are due to "a motivational attempt to resemble a specific other person", which is what modelling is all about. Moreover as Gray and Klaus (1956) report we cannot know whether

"... the extent to which both tested and perceived relationships between child and same-sex parent represent an identification with that parent, with a parental figure, or with a sex role . . . these are confounded."

[p.95]

The difficulty to operationalize the concept well was an additional reason that contributed to the decision taken in this study to focus on similarities and say nothing of identification. It is indirect similarities that are assessed, that is as perceived by the child. Interest in this variable lies in getting an idea of how a particular group of young people feel about their parents and whether there are special relationships with either of them.

The technique used is the one of comparing the self profile to the parental profile, as described by the subject. It suffers

from the inaccuracies contained in both profiles - which are due to the same causes that were discussed in relation to self-evaluation - and whatever was said about the ways of accounting for them in this study in relation to that variable, stands also for this variable. There are not any additional data gathered specific to the measurement of self-parents similarities. Differences between self and parents semantic differential profiles used in the two previous variables will be computed in the same way that actual-ideal differences will be. Thus the discussion about the Semantic Differential technique is also relevant to the measurement of this variable.

Parental evaluation, as it is used here, also encounters in its measurement similar problems to self-evaluation, as discussed in the relevant section.<sup>3</sup> To avoid repetition it suffices to say that the same measurement approach (actual-ideal discrepancies) and the same measurement technique (the Semantic Differential) were used. Therefore the same difficulties were faced and they were tackled in the same manner in both cases.

## G. INTERESTS

### 1. Definition

Involvement in extracurricular activities, in the University or outside, is taken as a direct expression of interest in the relevant aspects of life. Similarly, attendance of classes and lectures is taken as an indication of academic interest.

For measurement purposes a direct relationship of interest to activity has been assumed. Interests are seen as the motivational power resulting in engagement to activity. There might be cases, of course, where engagement in a particular activity does not represent a genuine interest in it, but it is the result of social conformity, pressure, duty etc. Nonetheless, for any type of sustained activity some degree of interest in it is assumed, in addition to the rest of the motivational dynamics involved.

## 2. Its Relationship to Political Activity

The relationship of academic interest and general activities to activism seems to be, at some times, a positive one, and at other times insignificant. Kerpelman (1972) reports that activists in general, of all ideologies, engaged in more campus activities than non-activists.

Gold, Christie and Friedman (1976) studied the differences in extracurricular activities of radicals versus conservatives. Although both groups were involved in a number of activities their "social worlds" were different. "One world was strongly oriented toward left-wing politics and the 'youth cult', the other toward traditional, Establishment pursuits" [p.98]. Radicals participated in drama and film societies. They preferred rock music concerts, "art" films, science fiction books, etc. In contrast, conservatives belonged to the student government, the college band, preferred classical music and ballet, read nonfiction and novels, etc.

Flacks (1970a) from reviewing the literature reports that a higher level of sophistication characterizes those active in the student movement. Activists have both higher grades, and more "academic" interests than non-activists. They have more intellectual and aesthetic interests, and are more academically serious. In contrast to Kerpelman who found that activists were in general more active than the rest of the students, Flacks reports that students active in sororities, fraternities and other student societies were under-represented in protests. The same is reported by Blackstone et al. (1970). Activists at LSE were active participants in the students' Union meetings but not in other societies. "Union participation indicates political consciousness in student affairs as opposed to the non-political interests of those active in most student societies" [p.76]. However, in contrast to Flacks and the general American literature on this issue, Blackstone et al. report that for their sample grades did not have any relationship to political activity or support for the radical activism that was going on in the university at the time of the study.

Finally, Haan, Smith and Block (1968) write: ". . . principled youth [meaning those who have achieved the highest level of moral reasoning] have not devoted themselves solely to jarring the establishment" [p.190]. Their political and social activity is reported to be the highest amongst all other groups. The number and variety of organizations and movements they have affiliated with, as well as their involvement in them, is reported again to be very high.

### 3. Measurement

In the present study both academic interest and interest in various aspects of life are considered. These are measured by items referring directly to various types of activities such as attending classes, pursuing hobbies, participating in cultural events, sports, etc. These items constitute the Index of General Activities. They were taken for the most part from Converse and Robinson (1969), and they were selected on the basis of their relevance to student life.<sup>74</sup>

## H. PERCEPTION OF POLITICS

### 1. Definition and its Expected Relationship to Political Activity

"Of what use to a man are his opinions? It is with this question that we choose to open our inquiry. A pattern of opinions may be for one man a basis of personal serenity in the face of a changing world, for another a goad to revolutionary activity. Opinions, in short, are part of man's attempt to meet and to master his world. They are an integral part of personality."

[Smith, 1956, p.1]

"Certainly such behavior [political behavior] is full of purpose and direction, but it is guided, if only imperfectly, by reason, knowledge, judgement, intelligence. Men are urged to certain ends but the political scene in which they act is perceived and given meaning."

[Hyman, 1959, p.18]

This close relationship of opinion to personality to behaviour, although well accepted in psychological theory, has been left mainly unexplored in the study of student activism. In

particular the attitudes to, the perception, and the psychological meaning of the very same variable to be explained, of the act of political participation, has received very little attention as a psychological variable that may differently characterize activists and nonactivists. The same holds true for the opinions and one's perception of politics, the institution, that is, within which political participation takes place.

Suggestions, however, as to the importance of perception of politics as a variable relating to activism can be found in the work of some researchers. For example Haan, Smith and Block (1968) report that many activists see a moral necessity in protesting. By studying the moral development of activists they concluded that some of them have achieved the highest level of moral reasoning. Their type of reasoning sees a moral justification and necessity for protest activity.

Flacks (1967) and Keniston (1967) support the idea that activists come in contact with the world in some distinct way due to their "upper-middle" class background. Free from economic anxieties, raised in permissive and egalitarian families, with a non-vocational value orientation they cannot easily fit in a competitive, materialistic and authoritarian social environment. They are aware and critical about the compromise which their fathers made by adjusting and succeeding in a society that is based on principles which contradict their own values.

Kerpelman (1972) reports a positive relationship of behaviour and attitude towards political activity. He found that level of political activism correlated highly with level of reported desirability of activism. In other words the students in his sample scored similarly on actual and desired political activity.

Gold, Christie and Friedman (1976) concluded from their data that ". . . an individual's attitudes played a more significant causal role in radicalization than did his behavior" [p.128]. Students who before entering the University approved of the use of "revolutionary tactics" were more easily radicalized later on, and were not likely to reduce their political activity. The level of their political activity before entering the University was only slightly related to their subsequent political involvement.

Finally Marsh (1977) suggests that for predictive purposes the nearest approximation to protest activity is the readiness to engage in protest activity, or the perception of its legitimacy under certain circumstances.

All of these studies acknowledge a close relationship between attitudes or perception towards politics, or political involvement and political activity. However, none of these has examined whether, for example, activists have a more sophisticated, or relativistic attitude towards politics rather than a more naive, or absolutistic one, compared with non-activists. Or whether



radical activists differ in a similar way from non-radical activists. Do activists perceive political participation as effective, dangerous, successful or not? Do inactivists perceive it as such?

It is not easy to answer these questions on common sense grounds. Even if we accept that people behave rationally and strive for a congruence of belief and behaviour, it is not easy to decide on a priori grounds what constitutes a congruent attitude with the examined political behaviour. For instance, prolonged political activism might result in a cynical view of the effectiveness of political involvement, or this view of political activism might justify political apathy. On the other hand the perception of political participation as an effective and successful means of activity might be necessary for sustained activism.

In the present study an effort is made to answer some of these questions. Under the name 'perception of politics' the cognitive aspect of one's attitudes towards politics and the affective meaning of political participation are examined.

The meaning of political participation is taken to signify the conception one has of political participation, or the adjectives one attributes to it in describing it. The term meaning, rather than definit-

ion or concept, is used because interest lies not on the denotative aspect of political participation but to the connotative or evaluative one - as developed by Osgood et al. (1957).

The meaning of political participation is seen as a potentially differentiating variable of activism, because people who differ in a particular behaviour might very well differ, amongst other variables, in their beliefs and evaluations of this particular behaviour. Of course, in the present study, where all variables are measured only after participation in politics has taken place, it cannot be said whether differences between activists and non-activists were always there or whether they developed after activism took place, or whether both occurred in some degree. Still, according to the evidence from Gold et al.'s (1976) study it can be assumed that differences in the perception of politics must have been there to play a role in deciding which action to take.

Opinions about certain aspects of politics are included in the study not so much in the hope of differentiating between activists and non-activists - although it would be interesting to examine the type of opinions these groups hold - as for differentiating between committed activists and people who are simply interested in politics<sup>75</sup>.

## 2. Measurement

The measurement of the meaning of political participation should, according to the way in which it was previously defined, focus on the evaluative aspect of meaning. The semantic differential technique was an obvious choice. The difficulty though was that no previous data existed in order to indicate which scales to use, or what the loadings of various adjectives were on the three factors of Evaluation, Potency and Activity, for the concept of political participation. Thus the selection of adjectives for the rating of political participation was done on the results of similar political concepts, personal view of how political participation is often described, and homogeneity of the scales with the rest of the concepts measured by the semantic differential in this study<sup>76</sup>.

Certain opinions about politics were also examined through the use of four specific questions. These questions referred to the nature of politics as an institution. The exact phrasing of the questions was as follows<sup>77</sup>: a) Politics are not something separate, but pervade almost all aspects of life; b) In the long run national political issues are more important than international political issues; c) The political ideologies of people are influenced by factors such as their personalities or their various psychological needs; d) The

only way social conflict can be eliminated is through the change of governments. These questions were thought to be interesting and possibly able to discriminate between the various types of political activism.

## I. CONCLUSION AND PREDICTIONS

Before closing the theoretical part of the thesis and proceeding with the empirical part of it, a summary of the implications and expectations about the relationship of all the variables to political activity seems desirable. This summary will also define the purposes of the statistical analysis of the data and will provide the questions which the conclusion to this thesis will have to answer.

There are three sources of expectations: the cross cultural context, the findings of the literature, and the exploratory nature of this study. The first provides some very general expectations about the results. The second provides more specific expectations about the relationship of each variable to the three factors of activism - whenever the variables and the three factors are common to the literature and this study. Finally, the third provides expectations about the relationship of the factors and the variables that are new to this study. In other words the exploratory nature of the study allows for predictions to be made of how things might come out, when the variables considered are introduced for the first time here, and for these predictions to be

made on the basis of personal observation.

The aim of the study and its cross-cultural context dictate the following points for examination and analysis:

(1) Establishment of the multi-dimensional nature of political activity. Different types of political activity are expected to emerge as independent from each other. Different degrees of activity, within each type of activity, will exist.

(2) At least some of the personality variables examined are expected to differentiate between types and degrees of political activism.

(3) Some of the above variables will be expected to differentiate in both cultures between types and degrees of political activity. Thus, the establishment of some cross-culturally valid relationships of activism to personality, will hopefully be achieved.

There is a difficulty in formulating specific expectations as to what the results will look like on the basis of the reviewed literature. This difficulty stems from two sources. The first is the different terminology applied by the various researchers. Thus a certain degree

of abstraction has to be made in several cases, in order to formulate expectations about the three factors of activism on the basis of the various categories of activists encountered in the literature. The second source is the merging of the 'interested' with the apolitical into one category and in unknown proportions. This is the case in most of the studies on student activism where the most common criterion for sample selection is either participation in some political event or membership in a political organization. Thus to the extent that the 'interested' are closer to the 'protesters' and the 'committed' than the apolitical, in reference to politics, they can be expected to score on the various personality variables in the same direction, but to a lesser degree, with the two other groups. However, to the extent that they are closer to the apolitical they might show the opposite characteristics from the 'protesters' and the 'committed'. This is of course a hypothesis that cannot be tested before the existence of the three separate factors is verified and the relations of these factors to personality variables is examined.

Now the expectations as to what the results will look like will be described and whether they are expected to conform to the results from the reviewed literature or not will be stated, (see also Table 6a at the end of this chapter). A further explication might seem

necessary at this stage. Hypotheses usually follow from theories. If they are disconfirmed, one goes back from the data to the theory, and makes new hypotheses. This is not the case in the present study. Here it is predicted how things might come out, i.e. there are expectations about the results. Whatever those results are, they are accepted.

(1) According to Gore & Rotter (1963) and Strickland (1965) internality is associated with interest, commitment (their terms are "political activity and knowledge") and possibly protest (in their terms "personal and decisive social action"). According to Silvern & Nakamura (1971) externality is associated with protest. The expectation here is that internality will be associated with interest and commitment. Externality will be associated with protest in the British case only. In the Greek case internality is more likely to be associated with protest due to the common belief of powerful others being in control of the country's affairs, which is coupled with the belief that this might be overcome with sufficient struggle. It is thought that the protesters' belief in their political power as an active group will overshadow their belief of powerful others. As a result they are expected to consider themselves as the source of control and not external sources.

(2) According to Rokeach (1974) extreme regard for

either or both 'equality' and 'freedom' will characterize those with sustained activity. Therefore the interested, the protesters and the committed should rank either or both of these values near the top or the bottom of their value hierarchy.

According to his theory people of a radical ideology should rank 'equality' over 'freedom', while people of any other ideology should rank 'freedom' over 'equality'. Here protesters are expected to rank 'equality' over 'freedom' in both samples. Furthermore both the interested and the committed are expected to do the same in the Greek sample due to the widespread radicalism amongst university students. In the British sample both the interested and the committed are expected to rank 'freedom' over 'equality', in accord with Rokeach's theory.

(3) Radical politico-economic ideology is expected to characterize the protesters, as it is commonly the case in the literature.

(4) Authoritarianism is expected to follow the pattern of conservative politico-economic ideology in its relation to political activity, due to its close association with this variable. In other words, it is expected to decrease as protest activity increases, in both samples. In general, however, the Greek sample is



expected to score low on authoritarianism because of negative feelings towards authority, which is a national characteristic and a fortified one amongst students. The protesters are expected to be very low on authoritarianism, an almost 'dogmatically democratic' group, (democratic is used as the opposite of authoritarian).

(5) Both types of findings - negative and positive - exist about the relationship of political activity and the variables self-evaluation, family-evaluation, parents-evaluation and -similarity. Thus their study here is mainly exploratory. Only three hypotheses are made: First that self-mother similarity will be low for the committed as a sign of independence and adulthood, which should be correlates of serious political involvement. Second, in the Greek sample, that self-father similarity and father evaluation will be high for the committed because of the centrality of the figure and the importance of the family tradition in the Greek political culture. Third, high mother-evaluation and family-evaluation should be associated with mere interest in politics. These are perceived as signs of particular closeness to the family which make it difficult to engage overtly or excessively in politics.

(6) According to Kerpelman (1972) the level of general interests is positively related to the level of

political interest and activity. According to Flacks (1970a) and Blackstone et.al (1970) however there is a negative relationship of general interests to protest and activism in general.

Thus the level of general activities, as an index of extracurricular interests, is expected to increase with interest and decrease with commitment.

According to Flacks (1970a) there is also a positive relationship between academic interest and political involvement. However according to Blackstone et.al (1970) there is no relationship between grades and activity.

Here class attendance is expected to decrease with protest and commitment (and to increase with interest in the Greek sample). This expectation which is contrary to the results from the literature mentioned above, is based on the alienation of Greek students from the university classes. It is not taken as an index of academic excellence and by extension of intellectual pursuits. It is rather an index of 'academic conscientiousness'.

Class attendance, however, is not expected to differentiate amongst the British students - as Blackstone et.al (1970) also report - since educational

problems are not obviously related to political ones, and therefore dismay in the political sphere will not easily be transferred to the academic sphere and cause class absenteeism.

(7) A positive perception of political participation both in evaluative, activity and power terms is expected to characterize the interested, the protesters and the committed in contrast to those low in these factors. Moreover, the protesters are expected to have the 'best' perception of political participation.

The four items referring to opinions about various aspects of politics are thought to relate in the following way: Items 1 and 2 referring to the importance of politics are expected to increase with interest. Items 3 and 4 referring to the influence of psychological factors on ideology and the power of a new government to change the social conditions, are expected to decrease with commitment.

(8) The demographic variables have been included because of their alleged relationship to political activism. No particular hypothesis is made about the way in which they are expected to relate to it. Their present relationship to political activity, if it is found to be an important one, will be examined in comparison to the main findings of other studies, as these have been described in chapter three.

TABLE 6a : Summary Table of the Expected Relationship of Personality Variables to the Suggested Three Factors of Activism

VARIABLES	FACTORS		Commitment
	Interest	Protest	
Externality Values	-	-(G)+(B)	-
Freedom-Equality		eq/fr(G)fr/eq(B)	
Radicalism		+	
Authoritarianism		-	
Self-Mother Similarity			-
Self-Father "			+(G)
Father-Evaluation			+(G)
Mother- "	+		
Family- "	+		
General Activities	+		-
Class Attendance		-(G)	-(G)
Politics-Perception	+	+	+
" -Perception:1+2	+		
3 + 4			-

Symbols

+ positive relationship

- negative "

(G) Greece (B) Britain

It can be seen that both in the above table and the previous discussion of expectations not all variables are mentioned under each one of the suggested factors of political activism. This is so because expectations do not exist for every single variable and each one of the factors. However

one may wonder how it will be possible to examine the accuracy of these expectations when for example it is stated that Radicalism is expected to characterize the Protesters, but nothing is said about Radicalism and Interest or Commitment. In such cases the meaning is that it is not known whether the Interested and/or the Committed will be of radical or conservative ideology. What can be said is that the Protesters should be the most radical of all. Thus when comparing for example Interest to Protest the expectation is low radicalism for the first and high for the second, but only for this particular case of comparison. Absolutely, i.e. when compared to lack of Interest, Interest might be positively related to Protest.

For this reason the expectations are stated, everytime, in reference to the factor itself. The question behind them is what can be expected to correlate with this factor on the basis of the review of the literature and the described nature of the factor. What the relationship of a particular variable will be with the rest of the factors is something that cannot be said in cases where no information is provided and no risk can be taken in formulating an unfounded hypothesis.

## CHAPTER 4 :

### FOOTNOTES

1. For a review of the differences and similarities in the conceptualization of locus of control and other related variables, see Rotter (1966) and Rotter et al. (1962).
2. See H.M. Lefcourt (1966) and (1972).
3. For example, internality is theoretically related to activism, because political activism is thought logically to arise from a belief in self as an effective agent of change in the world. Gore and Rotter (1963) provided evidence that this was indeed the case for a group of college students. Gootnick (1974) did not find this relationship. Instead internal-external control, as measured by the I-E scale again, was found to bear no relationship to activism. Gurin et al. (1969) on the other hand found that externality was associated with activism, in a study of Negro college students, a sample similar to the Gore and Rotter study. In an effort to solve this theoretical-empirical discrepancy, Gurin et al. developed their own theory about the factors that operate on the motivational dynamics of Negro youth and the number of factors required to account for an adequate description of their locus of control.
4. In this category belong the Negroes and other minority group members.
5. The I-E scale has been considered, by Rotter et al. (1962), to be the operational definition of the generalized expectancy of locus of control and thus reference to it here, in the theoretical section of the variable, is justified.
6. It should be made clear here that their research covered two areas of the internal-external control measurement. One had to do with the I-E scale; to find out if it was indeed a good scale, reliable, free from social desirability effects, etc. The other had to do with the dimensions required for the measurement of locus of control. Although this concerns the scale as well, which is unidimensional, it can be seen that it primarily concerns the operationalization of locus of control rather than the instrument itself.
7. For a review of the I-E scale and the measurement of locus of control see the following section.
8. As reported in Lefcourt (1966). For a review of the first attempt to measure internal-external control and the development of the I-E scale see also Rotter (1966).

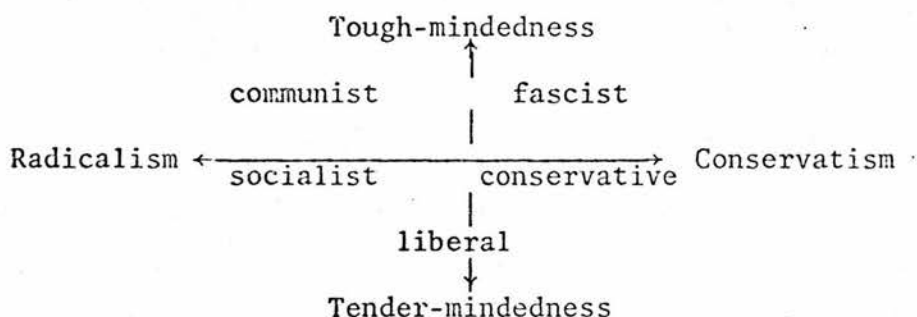
9. As reported in Rotter's monograph and Lefcourt's review of the instrument, ibid.
10. For a more detailed report of the statistical characteristics of the I-E scale, see Appendix B.
11. For a review of the research surrounding the I-E scale from 1966 to 1971 see Joe (1971).
12. See, for example, Grandall et al. (1965), Gurin et al. (1969), and Hersch and Scheibe (1967), as reported in the first section on the definition of locus of control.
13. Some alternative measures of internal-external control have been developed but none of them has been extensively used or has been proven superior to the I-E . For example Dies (1968) developed a projective technique for measuring it; Crandall et al. (1965) developed a test for children; Gurin et al. (1969) developed a multidimensional I-E scale with special emphasis on race ideology; and finally Levenson and Miller (1976) used three small scales for the measurement of locus of control, namely the "chance", "internal" and "powerful others".
14. In the present discussion on values I will mainly concentrate on the work of Rokeach and B. Smith as being the two main contemporary researchers in the field of human values, which, as they claim, has been long abandoned by the attitude-oriented contemporary social psychologists.
15. Later Rokeach changed "and" to "or"; "...personally or socially preferable ..." [1973, p.5]. I think that this change must be related to the realization that whatever constitutes a personally preferable value does not necessarily constitute a socially desirable one as well, and vice versa.
16. However, he accepts that there are certain values which society tries to socialize its members to, as if they were absolute. These are usually values that concern issues of morality in interpersonal relations.
17. Values are distinguished from attitudes in terms of, (a) their extended influence across objects or situations. Attitudes are more specific; they are a set of beliefs about a specific object or situation. (b) Values are imperatives to action. They are "a preference for the preferable", while attitudes express only the preferable. (c) Values serve as the criterion by which attitudes are guided or judged.
18. Rokeach has also studied the relationship of values to politics, which is of particular relevance to this thesis. His research however on this topic, is not discussed here but in the section on political ideology, because this is the area of politics on which he concentrated the most.



19. See B. Smith (1969) p.332, for a discussion of the two aspects of morality.
20. For the assessment of moral process they used Kohlberg's Moral Judgement Scale and adopted his criteria for the classification of people in three levels of moral development: (I) Premoral, characterized by "obedience and punishment" orientation; (II) Conventional, characterized by following the law and keeping the existing order orientation; and (III) Principled, characterized by a tendency to act according to one's own principles and conscience.
21. The values studied were all instrumental (referring to modes of conduct) and the values of the Protestant Ethic included: ambitious, foresight, orderly, sociable, and responsible; while the humanistic values included: rebellious, idealistic, creative, sensitive, loving, etc.
22. For an extensive review of measurement techniques for values see Robinson and Shaver (1969) pp.405-418.
23. See Appendix B for the evidence provided by the study of Homant (1969).
24. For example, data from U.S.A. and Canada support Lipset's hypothesis that Canadians are less achievement oriented than Americans, but provide contrary evidence for another of his hypotheses, namely that Americans are more concerned with egalitarianism than Canadians. (As reported by Rokeach (1973), pp.90-91.)
25. In communist countries people with a conservative personality are expected to espouse the accepted 'left' economic ideology, while people with liberal personality a new radical ideology either to the left or to the right of the one officially espoused. [See Wilson (1973) p.7.]
26. "Attitude" is defined as ". . . a relatively enduring organization of beliefs around an object or situation predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner" [Rokeach 1968, p.112]. "Opinion" is defined as the ". . . verbal expression of some belief, attitude, or value." [Rokeach (1968) p.125.]
27. A "personality dimension" implies an organization factor of attitudes and beliefs, covering a wide spectrum of social objects and situations. An "ideological dimension" refers to the R-C continuum of politico-economic beliefs and attitudes, covering only situations and objects relevant to the institution of politics and economics.
28. As a matter of accuracy McClosky was interested in finding the personality characteristics that characterize those who espouse the conservative politicoeconomic ideology. Thus he started with a distinction between personality and ideology but in an effort to combine them into an R-C life-style. Eysenck also distinguishes between the two but combines them in order to account for variations in political attitudes.



29. "Political reasoning" refers "to the ways in which people justify or argue about their political beliefs". "Personal philosophic concepts" refer to the way "a person thinks about himself in society", that is his identity and the various institutions and the people who are identified with them. [Lane (1973) p.110.]
30. The relationship was not perfect because one's position on the R-C continuum was considered to be the result of the interplay of several other variables whose complexities and imperfections were affecting this relationship. More specifically it was speculated that conservative personalities espoused the conservative political ideology because the two were logically connected, because the one was a projection of the other and because both were learned in an early environment.
31. According to Converse only 17% of a nationwide sample fully understood the terms 'liberal', 'conservative', while 48% could not define the differences between the two at all; 11½% could define the differences between political parties in ideological terms, while 17½% could think of no differences at all. Also according to Key (1961) a great number of apparently related issues received uncorrelated and contradictory responses from the general public (as reported in Sears (1969)).
32. The two factors are assumed orthogonal and they characterize political parties in the following way:



33. As reported in Stone (1974). See also Christie (1955, 1956), Hanley and Rokeach (1956), Eysenck and Coulter (1972). These critics have questioned the evidence in support of Eysenck's theory and they have criticized in particular the sampling procedures followed, the validity of the measuring instruments used and the interpretation of the statistical results.
34. See Converse as reported above and later again. Also Kerlinger (1967) provides evidence for the orthogonality of liberalism and conservatism.
35. See Nias and Patterson in Wilson (1973), Chapters 10 and 12.

36. Here it can be noted how the focus shifted from trying to explain R-C, as a politicoeconomic ideology, through personality variables to trying to explain R-C, as a personality syndrome, through other sociopsychological variables, in which case politicoeconomic ideology was assigned a secondary role.
37. For example, Lipset (1960) using mainly sociological data, found that economic and social conservatism are negatively correlated along the social class dimension. Conservatism in general increases down the social scale while economic conservatism increases up the social scale. See also Wilson (1973), pp.28-29.
38. Lane claims that this is the case with Converse who a priori defined what is consistent with a Conservative and what with a Liberal ideology and went out to find out whether people held consistent political beliefs or not.
39. More will be said about the relationship of R-C ideology to political behaviour in the following section.
40. It should be noted here that R-C = L-C, therefore liberalism = radicalism and the two are used interchangeably for the present purposes.
41. This is the case with the following scales: PEC (Adorno et. al. (1950)), R-C (Eysenck (1954)) and C (Wilson and Patterson (1970)).
42. Rokeach has been especially troubled by this problem and he has tried to account for it by proposing a completely different way of measuring politico-economic ideology, i.e. in terms of values rather than opinions. His alternative is discussed later.
43. Eysenck (1954), McClosky (1958), Wilson (1973).
44. This is very much in line with what Lane and the functionalists believe about the way people formulate their political opinions, i.e. both in rational and psychologically functional terms - as discussed in the previous section of the conceptual definition of R-C.
45. According to it each person is asked to rate amongst other values, the two values "freedom" and "equality" and to produce a hierarchical system of values reflecting the importance of each value as a guiding principle in his life. Then the relative positions of the two values are considered and define his politico-ideological stance. The two values "freedom" and "equality" can differentiate amongst the present political ideologies, the differences of which can not be accounted for without reference to their economic systems. Subsequently the differences amongst the various economic systems can be successfully tapped by these two values.

46. See Appendix B for a review of this scale.
47. See the chapter on the Authoritarian Personality in Roger Brown (1965) pp.477-546.
48. See Greenstein (1969).
49. Lipset (1959) writes that the important factors for lower-class authoritarianism are lack of education and sophistication, isolation from the general cultural values of society, and lack of economic and psychological security. He contrasts the working-class people with people from higher-classes who see everything from a "relative point of view" due to their ability of "intellectual reasoning". Also Hyman and Sheatsley (1954) have shown that some of the "authoritarian" attitudes are typical beliefs of people from lower socioeconomic classes. On the basis of this they have suggested that these attitudes are learned in the context of their class, and that their sources are therefore cognitive rather than ego-defensive.
50. As reported in Kirscht and Dillehay (1967) who have reviewed the literature on authoritarianism.
51. Of course his theory has received serious criticisms and the proposed similarity of communists and fascists is doubtful.
52. On his dogmatism scale however only communists score high, while the rest of the ideological groups do not differ significantly. (As reported in Brown (1965) p.542).)
53. Stone (1974) refers to the study by Mussen, P.H., and Wyszinski, A.B. "Personality and political participation". Human Relations, 1952, 5, 65-82.
54. See Kirscht and Dillehay. (1967).
55. See Christie and Jahoda (1954), Eysenck (1954), Rokeach (1960).
56. The first claimed that Eysenck wrongly judged communists as being closer to fascists than normals on tough-mindedness scores. The second claimed that the items where communists scored high on tough-mindedness were the ones where fascists scored low, and the other way around for the items where they scored low. Thus their "shared" tough-mindedness was rendered a completely heterogeneous dimension.
57. But his dogmatism scale, although backed up by an elaborate theory developed by Rokeach, when tried on various ideological groups the results indicated that communists did not differ in their scores in a statistically significant way from the rest of the groups, as it was also reported in the previous section.

58. See Simon (1965) and Stewart and Hoult (1959).
59. See Robinson and Shaver (1969) for a review of alternative scales for the measurement of authoritarianism.
60. See Appendix B for more information about this version.
61. Of course evaluation of self expressed as a personal judgement is not based solely on subjective feelings, but it incorporates the attitudes of others towards one's self. In the case where subjective feelings diversify from the evaluations of the environment, it is the first with which this study is concerned.
62. This debate is, of course, an old one in psychology. Just to give an example, Lasswell (1947) claimed that political involvement could be seen as an effort to overcome a low self-esteem concept. On the other hand Campbell et al. (1960) found that voters had greater sense of personal efficacy than non-voters. Also Flügel (1924) based on psychoanalytic principles, but from a different perspective than Lasswell, considered a self-reliant personality to be at the roots of political rebellion.  
  
Of course, these authors were not concerned with exactly the same phenomenon nor did they apply exactly the same psychological concepts for its explanation. Nonetheless the idea of controversy as to the self-concept of political activists was created. What, however, seems more plausible today is that both types of political activists, or political office holders exist (see Stone 1974).
63. For the purposes of the present discussion the term 'self-esteem' will be used instead of 'self-evaluation' or 'satisfaction with self' because this is the way in which it is more often referred to in the literature. (See Robinson & Shaver, 1969).
64. Sherwood in fact refers to the Wylie's review of the concept: Wylie, R. (1961), The Self-concept: a critical survey of pertinent research literature. Lincoln : University Nebraska Press.
65. Robinson and Shaver (1969) p.49, referring also to Wylie, op.cit.
66. For the concepts rated and the scales used, as well as the sources used for their selection, and a review of the Semantic Differential, see Appendix B.
67. See, for example, Lazowick (1955), Martin (1954) and Mowrer (1953).
68. This has been explicated and analyzed by Bronfenbrenner (1958).

69. This has been judged necessary because of the nature of the sample used which was limited to students.
70. Keniston (1973) in fact argues that the same data can be used to support both hypotheses, because the implications of these two different interpretations of student activism are not usually explored any further.
71. For example, he says that women describe their mothers with more negative adjectives after they engage in politics than before.
72. According to Keniston they are very often teachers or social workers. Keniston also states in his support Flacks' findings about the jobs of the mothers of activists, which were usually reported to be of a "service" nature.  
  
This hypothesis of Keniston is in accord with the early writings of psychoanalytically oriented authors. For example, Eder (1924) writes that while conservatives identify with the father, radicals identify with the brothers and sisters and tend to protect the underdog (i.e. the mother).
73. For a review of the various ways of measuring parental-evaluation and the concept of "the generation gap" see Shaw and Wright (1967), esp. pp. 419-425.
74. For the exact items of the General Activities Index see Appendix A. For more information about their source see Appendix B.
75. For the exact way in which political participation is expected to relate to these specific political opinions see the following section (4I).
76. See Appendix A for the particular scales used, and Appendix B under Self-Evaluation, etc. for the reasons of the choice of these scales.
77. See also Appendix B for their source and the way in which they were scored.

PART III

THE EMPIRICAL STUDY

CHAPTER 5 :

THE COLLECTION OF THE DATA AND  
DESCRIPTION OF THE TWO SAMPLES

## PART III

### THE EMPIRICAL STUDY

#### CHAPTER 5 :

#### THE COLLECTION OF THE DATA AND DESCRIPTION OF THE TWO SAMPLES

##### A. THE PREPARATION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE AND ITS ADMINISTRATION

When the theoretical framework and plan of a study has finished and all the reasons for the selection of the particular variables and techniques to be used are set out, one is still left with a very different and subtle task to accomplish: that of approaching people and actually measuring what one is interested in. There are several ways one can do this and the selection of the most appropriate one for the circumstances will most likely result in a better study.

In this case the participants in the study were university students and their task was to voluntarily fill in a rather lengthy questionnaire. University students are easily accessible in the sense that one knows where to look for them. The two samples of participants were not representative samples, but they were not completely chance samples either. Since the first purpose of the study was to examine a set of relationships between political behaviour and personality variables, special care was taken for the



samples to include students engaging in the total range of political behaviour, from inactivism to high activism. The second purpose of the study was to examine political behaviour in all its forms and not only as the disruptive activity of left-wing militants which has been prominent in the university campuses during the last decade. According to this purpose an effort was made for the samples to include students from the total range of political ideology, from right-wing to revolutionary left-wing. The third purpose of the study was to offer a comparison of the set of relationships that exist between political behaviour and personality in two different cultures. For this purpose the two samples of students had to be in some respects similar or comparable. Thus an effort was made for the samples to have some balance in themselves in terms of several demographic variables, i.e. gender, age, field of study, etc., and to be similar in respect to the same variables between themselves.

The last purpose to be served by the method of sampling used in this study was to achieve a high response rate. Due to the length of the questionnaire and the voluntary basis of answering it the danger of ending up with a sample biased at least in respect to politeness, helpfulness and cooperativeness of its members was too great. Thus a way of approaching students that would ensure prompt participation was desirable.

Finally the way of approaching students should be in accord with the anonymous nature of the study and the conditions

under which the questionnaire administration would take place should ensure anonymity.

The ways in which the students were approached and the ways in which the questionnaire administration was done, were slightly different in the two countries, for reasons to be given, and thus they will be discussed separately. Contrary to my habit up to now of discussing the British case first and the Greek second now I shall describe first the way in which the study took place in Greece because of its chronological precedence. But before going into this, a few things about the preparation of the questionnaire should be mentioned. The questionnaire was naturally prepared in English and it was afterwards translated into Greek. Unfortunately none of the standard instruments used has been either translated or standardized for a Greek sample before. Thus special care was given to the translation. It was first translated by me, then translated from Greek back into English by a Greek friend competent in both languages and the differences in the translated English version and the original English version were eliminated by corrections on the Greek text. Then the questionnaire was again translated back by another Greek friend and the same process was repeated. Upon my arrival in Greece the questionnaire was corrected once more by a Greek very competent in the Greek language so that expressions that sounded foreign were adapted to the Greek use of the language, and were consequently translated back into English to ensure that the meaning of them had not changed.

The format of the questionnaire was slightly different for the two languages. In the Greek format the Likert-type scales of answering were repeated after each item, while in the British format they were placed once on the top of the page and then the respondent had to give his answer on the side of each item. This was done because it was thought that Greek students did not have much experience in completing this type of questionnaire in contrast to British students, who are much more used to it. Another difference was in the format of the Survey of Values used. Due to technical reasons Form D (non-sticky labels) had to be used for the Greek sample while Form E (sticky labels) - which is the most preferable - was possible to be used for the British sample. In other respects the format of the questionnaire was the same and the order of the questions was kept the same for its likelihood to keep the interest of the respondent renewed each time he moved to a different task.

The study in Greece took place in July and August 1975 in Athens. The University was officially closed and students had to be contacted elsewhere. But had it been open it is rather unlikely that the study would have taken place in it since my expectations of cooperating with the authorities were rather low and my chances of cooperating with the students, had I succeeded to cooperate with the authorities, would be even lower.

The way in which the students were approached followed the efficient way of moving among networks of friends. In Greece this

is particularly important because it is the only way in which trust and cooperation can be ensured. Asking friends to do personal favours cannot fail. Thus, I contacted all my friends who happened to be university students and I asked my two brothers, who are students in different departments, to do the same with their friends. It was arranged for them to meet me any time that suited them. When I met them individually, I explained to them the nature and the purpose of the study and I asked them to cooperate in two ways: (a) to fill in the questionnaire, and (b) to contact other students who would meet the requirements of the sampling of the study, and ask them to fill in the questionnaire. Afterwards they were responsible to me for returning, on a particular date, the questionnaires they promised to distribute plus their own questionnaire. This system worked very well. It was done gradually so that I had some control over the final sample. That is, if I felt that questionnaires filled in by students of a particular ideology, or one type of political behaviour, or from one field of study, were accumulating at a faster rate than others, then I would ask my 'participants-assistants' to contact now students of X ideology or behaviour or department because I did not need any more of the others.<sup>1</sup> In total I must have personally contacted about 22 students, and the total number of questionnaires collected being 67 means that they distributed an average of two more questionnaires each plus the one they filled in themselves. In practice, however, it was not so because seven of those contacted filled in only one questionnaire and did not distribute any more. This was either because they could not do it, or because they were contacted only for the purpose of filling a

questionnaire themselves due to their activities or ideology that would give a better balance to the sample. Thus 15 'participants-assistants' did the job, which means that each one of them gave three more questionnaires plus their own. The actual range was from one to five, excluding a single case of 12.

For the reception of the questionnaire I had to rely on my experience with the 22 respondents that I contacted and their experiences with 'their' respondents although a few respondents made their comments in writing on the questionnaire and some of them even put their names and addresses on it - in case I wanted to contact them, it seems. The average completion time was  $1\frac{1}{2}$  - 2 hours. They found it very difficult to complete the Rokeach Survey of Values and they kept changing the order all the time. They also had some difficulty in understanding the metaphorical use of the Semantic Differential Scales related to the concept of 'political participation'. They asked for examples usually and then they went on doing it. They found aggravating the items of the F and particularly the I-E Scale by Rotter. Some of them refused to answer them altogether or refused to answer some of the items. They seemed to have completed the questionnaire with seriousness and interest in trying to give the most true picture of themselves and select the answers that best represented them. The response rate was very high. One or two questionnaires got lost in the sense that I never got them back and one girl contacted by one of the 'participants-assistants' refused to fill it in because of political reasons, i.e. mistrust of the purposes of the study.

Thus the two months in Greece passed and I had to return to Britain with 67 questionnaires in my hands - my target had been 60-70. They were two months of anguish in which every day I had to count and recount the questionnaires and contact people all the time with different demands every time. But that was very much in the spirit of the city and the way people work and live there.

The study in Britain took place in February and March 1976 in Edinburgh. The way of contacting the students here was still personal, but I relied more on myself for doing it this time. Nothing promised me here that people would 'kill' themselves to do me the favour of distributing questionnaires to friends and responsibly return them to me in a week's time. Thus, first I calculated the number of students needed in each category of the demographic variables under control, so that a balanced sample, comparable to the Greek one would result. Then I asked from the Societies' Union of the University the addresses and telephone numbers of the president and vice president of the various political clubs of the student body. These were: the Conservative Club, the Liberal Club, the Labour Club, the Scottish Nationalists, the International Socialists, and the Politics Society. I contacted one of them from each club and I arranged to meet the members of the club at their next meeting. There I explained to them what I was doing and with those interested in helping me with my study I fixed an appointment to come and fill in the questionnaire in my room in the University. I always tried to have people filling in the questionnaire in groups

because I thought that anonymity was better ensured this way and the respondents felt freer in a group atmosphere rather than a tête-a-tête with me. In this way I ensured a group of politically interested people from all ideologies. The rest of the sample consisted of students whom I knew personally or whom I met in tutorials or classes. I went to one class and five tutorials in total. The participation from students in the tutorials was almost complete - only one person said that he did not have any time to spare. From the class about half the people participated, but then I was asking only for students of engineering and chances are that there were not many more engineering students in that class than those who participated. The participation from the students belonging to political clubs varied - from half to two-thirds of those present - but all in all it was very good and I did not have any difficulty in reaching the number of students required for my sample. Also the students who promised to participate almost never failed to show up at the agreed time, with one or two exceptions perhaps.

In the end the British sample was slightly bigger than the Greek numbering a total of 76 respondents. The average time spent in filling in the questionnaire varied from  $1\frac{1}{4}$  to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours, which is considerably shorter than the Greek average - especially if one takes into account the fact that the British questionnaire was slightly longer than the Greek one, since it required an additional rating of all the Rokeach values. On the other hand Form D of the Value Survey, used in the Greek sample, requires that the respondent writes, erases and re-writes the values in the order he prefers and this is



considerably more time consuming than pasting and peeling off labels that Form E requires. Thus I would tend to consider this difference in the format of the questionnaires as the main reason for the different response time required, rather than other factors like the experience of British students in filling in questionnaires or the possible more seriousness with which Greek students completed the task. However these reasons are not dismissed as improbable but are rather considered as of minor influence to the average response time required in the two countries.

British students were less expressive of their attitude towards the questionnaire and generally refrained from writing comments on it, although some of them did. They too found it difficult to feel certain about the way in which they did the value ranking and kept changing the order of values. Yet they did not report any difficulty in filling in either the F or the I-E scale by Rotter and were definitely more certain as to how to rate the semantic differential scales.

Thus, the collection of the data finished without any serious problems, thanks to the cooperation of the people involved. The analysis of the data which proved to be more difficult, complicated and time consuming than was originally thought, started and left behind a very exciting part of the study.

#### B. DESCRIPTION OF THE TWO SAMPLES IN TERMS OF THEIR DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Before setting up the questions which the statistical analysis of the data meant to answer and the actual way in which



this was done, a description of the two samples in terms of demographic variables seems appropriate. After all the results to be presented are based on these two samples and their individual characteristics set the boundaries of both the validity and the generality of the results of this study.

The samples, as mentioned before, were not representative of the student population as a whole, but the reader has to be persuaded that they were not queer in any sense either. They were formed on the basis of 'availability' and the control exercised during their selection helped to serve the purposes of the study as described in the previous section.

A description and comparative table of the two samples, in terms of the demographic variables considered in the present study, follows. It will be observed from this table that the range of age is greater for the British sample. This is due to two reasons. First the students in Greece enter the university at the age of 19 so there are no 18 years old university students. Second, the study took place in Greece during the summer and thus all first year students had already become second year students, i.e. 20 years old, while in Britain the study took place in February and thus first year students were either 18 or 19 years old depending upon their age on entering the university.

TABLE 7 : Relative Frequencies, in the Two Samples, of the Variables:  
Gender, Age, Field of Study, Father's Occupation, Home  
Town, and Club Membership

		GREEK SAMPLE (N = 67)	BRITISH SAMPLE (N = 76)
Variable	Category	Relative Frequencies (Percentages)	
GENDER	MALE	56.7	60.5
	FEMALE	43.3	39.5
AGE	18	-	18.4
	19	-	18.4
	20	32.8	21.1
	21	32.8	22.4
	22	19.4	9.4
	23	7.5	5.3
	24	3.0	5.3
	MISSING	4.5	
	Mean = 21.1		Mean = 20.2
FIELD OF STUDY	LAW	19.4	21.1
	LITERATURE	26.9	27.6
	MEDICINE	11.9	10.5
	POLITICS	1.5	9.2
	PHYSICS	7.5	11.8
	ENGINEERING	25.4	10.5
	ECONOMICS	7.5	9.2
FATHER'S OCCUPATION	FARMER	-	6.6
	SKILLED WORKER	9.0	15.8
	CIVIL SERVANT	22.4	30.3
	MILITARY, NAVY	9.0	5.3
	MERCHANT	16.4	7.9
	PROFESSIONAL	37.3	21.1
	HIGH BUSINESS OFFICER	-	10.5
	MISSING	6.0	2.6
PLACE <sup>1</sup>	ATHENS	95.5	-
	OTHER BIG CITY	4.5	-
	BIG CITY IN SCOTLAND	-	28.9
	SMALL " " "	-	5.3
	TOWN " " "	-	47.4
	SMALL " " ENGLAND	-	6.6
	TOWN " " "	-	6.6
	IRELAND	-	1.3
	MISSING	-	3.9
CLUB MEMBERSHIP	NOT MEMBER	-	19.7
	POLITICAL CLUB	-	3.9
	ONLY	-	
	OTHER ONLY	-	43.4
	BOTH POLITICAL AND OTHER	-	32.9

<sup>1</sup> BIG CITY ≥ 200,000 inhabitants  
SMALL CITY ≥ 50,000 "  
TOWN ≤ 50,000 "

The categories for the field of study follow the Greek classificatory system and thus they need some explanation.

'Physics' includes physics, chemistry, geology, biology and genetics. 'Politics' is the equivalent of 'Social Sciences', excluding economics. In Greece it is a very small field of study, while here it is not. As a result the proportion of students in it was not kept balanced in the two samples because, if it were, social science students would have been excluded from the British sample.

In terms of home town the Greek sample is homogeneous. Almost all the participants had grown up and were living in Athens. The British sample is almost a Scottish sample but from places of different size and thus in this respect different from the Greek sample.

Club membership data do not exist for the Greek sample. The importance of club membership as a variable related to political activism was considered after the Greek data had been collected but the omission is not grave. Organized clubs hardly exist in the Greek university so the chances are that students would not belong to one anyway.

Table 7 is a detailed table presenting the results as closely to the raw data as possible. But these demographic data were used in a more condensed form in the analysis of the total set

of variables used to explain political behaviour. Table 8 presents the same data in reduced categories in the way they were used in subsequent computations.

TABLE 8 : Relative Frequencies of the Variables in Table 7, with reduced Categories, as used in the Statistical Analysis of the Total Set of Data.

		GREEK SAMPLE (N = 67)	BRITISH SAMPLE (N = 76)
<u>Variable</u>	<u>Category</u>		
AGE	18-21	70.1	80.2
	22-24	29.9	19.8
FIELD OF STUDY <sup>a</sup>	ARTS		
	HUMANITIES	55.2	67.1
	SOCIAL SCIENCES		
	SCIENCE		
	MEDICINE	44.8	32.9
FATHER'S OCCUPATION <sup>b</sup>	LOW	9.0	22.4
	MIDDLE	53.7	46.1
	HIGH	37.3	31.6
CLUB <sup>2</sup>	NOT MEMBER	-	19.7
	ANY CLUB	-	80.3
	MEMBERSHIP		
PLACE	SCOTLAND	-	85.5
	NOT "	-	14.5
	BIG CITY	-	28.9
	SMALL "		13.2
	TOWN		57.9

a The category 'Arts, Humanities, Social Sciences' includes the categories Law, Literature, Politics and Economics of Table 7. The category 'Science, Medicine' includes Medicine, Physics and Engineering of Table 7.

b 'Low' includes the categories Farmer and Skilled Worker; 'Middle' includes Civil Servant, Military or Navy, and Merchant; 'High' includes Professional and High Business Officer.

To summarize on the descriptive characteristics of the two samples the following points are made:

- (1) In both samples the male participants slightly exceeded the female participants in number.
- (2) The average age in the British sample was slightly lower than the average age in the Greek sample. In both samples younger participants, i.e. 18-21, outnumbered older participants, i.e. 22-24.
- (3) In both samples more students came from the Arts, etc. than from Science, the case being more pronounced in the British sample.
- (4) In both samples the majority of students were from middle-class homes, as judged from 'Father's Occupation'. In the Greek sample the rest of the students came mainly from upper middle-class homes with a very small number from lower classes, while in the British sample there was a more even distribution of students from all socioeconomic backgrounds.
- (5) Most British students belonged to clubs of political or other nature.
- (6) The samples were homogeneous in terms of national origin. The Greek sample was homogeneous in terms of home town as well, while the British sample was not. Almost half of the British students came from towns of less than 50,000 inhabitants, while the other half came mostly from big cities. At the time of their studies, however, they were all living in Edinburgh.

## CHAPTER 5 :

### F O O T N O T E S

1. The target for the total number of respondents was 60-70, divided in the following way according to demographic variables and political activity:
  - a) gender: equal numbers of males and females;
  - b) age: equal numbers of under 21, 21, and over 21 years of age;
  - c) field of study: equal numbers of arts, humanities, social sciences taken together; and science and medicine taken together;
  - d) political activity: the aim was to include about 10 students of no overt political activity, and 10 students of intense political activity; also about 10 students of conservative ideology, and 10 students of radical ideology. After this the sample would be free to vary according to chance.
2. Club membership could, theoretically, have been divided into political/non-political. The present division, however, was necessary because a) the number of students belonging only to political clubs was very small (see Table 7) and b) the main interest in this variable has been affiliative versus non-affiliative behaviour (as described in Chapter 3).

CHAPTER 6 :

THE FACTOR ANALYSIS OF THE  
POLITICAL ACTIVITY INDEX

## CHAPTER 6 :

### THE FACTOR ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL ACTIVITY INDEX

Political activity is the dependent variable in this study. In Part I it was defined theoretically and the way in which it is conceptualized as the object of this research was described. In Part II it remains to be seen whether the collected data validate and justify the theoretical classification of political behaviour. The first step in the statistical analysis of the data was to show whether the postulated distinctions in political behaviour could also be identified in practice, and in particular in the samples used here.

The actual items measuring political activity can be found in Appendix A where the actual questionnaire, as used for the collection of the data, is included. However, as a matter of convenience a detachable table of these items has been prepared, which can be found at the end of the thesis (back pocket) and should be used for decoding the variable labels - item 1, etc. - when the results of the statistical analysis are presented.

Factor analysis was chosen as a suitable technique for analyzing political behaviour. It is an exploratory method of revealing underlying variables which account for the variance in an observed phenomenon. It achieves a reduction of explanatory variables by grouping the original variables into factors, or clusters



of variables. Its main assumption is that things can be conceived in a simpler way than the data show. Its purpose is to find out how best we can account for the observed variability of a phenomenon with the minimum number of independent explanatory variables. "Factor analysis thus provides us with a simpler, more compact explanation of the regularities apparent in the empirical results."<sup>1</sup>

These characteristics of factor analysis served the purposes of testing the validity of the theoretical classification of political behaviour. The hypothesis that political activity is not a homogeneous phenomenon but one that can be accounted for by different forms of activity as well as degrees of intensity and commitment, could be tested by analyzing the structure of the data collected for political activism. The answer to the question 'how many independent factors are needed to account for the variance in political activity' also provides the answer to the question 'is the present hypothesis about the complex nature of political behaviour valid?'

The method used for the factor analysis of political activity was principal factoring (principal-components solution), with the value of 1.0 in the main diagonals, assuming, that is, that all variance is common.

The criterion employed for the number of factors to be retained as common factors was Kaiser's criterion of latent roots being greater than 1.<sup>2</sup> According to this (see Tables 9 and 11.)

four factors were significant in the analysis of political activism, in both samples. However, only three were retained, in both samples, because the fourth was too small and psychologically meaningless.

Factor loadings, i.e. the variance of each variable accounted for by each one of the common factors, were treated as correlation coefficients and their significance was derived from the Tables of the statistical significance of Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient, adapted by Child (1970).

Finally, the factors were rotated in order to achieve a more psychologically meaningful structure. The orthogonal rotation method was used, assuming that the factors were uncorrelated and at right angles to each other. The equimax solution was preferred for the Greek data, as providing the most meaningful picture; while the varimax solution was preferred for the British data, for the same reason (see Tables 10 and 12).<sup>3</sup> The equimax solution aims at two things at the same time, i.e. to produce a single major factor where all variables will load significantly, and to make loadings on this major and other secondary factors as simple as possible, that is, either 1 or 0. The equimax solution is a compromise between quartimax and varimax solutions. The varimax solution clarifies ambiguities in the originally derived factors by aiming at simplifying the factors defining them in a way that takes account only of the 1's and 0's in the columns of the factor matrix. (SPSS, 1970, Harman, 1967).

The results of the factor analysis are presented below, first for the Greek sample and then for the British sample. The alternative rotations, i.e. the varimax solution for the Greek data and the equimax solution for the British data are presented in Appendix D. Also a factor analysis eliminating the two items specific to each cultural group is discussed in Appendix D.

TABLE 9 : Eigenvalues and percentages of explained variance for the four common factors and the three rotated factors, for the Greek data

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	% OF VARIANCE	CUMULATIVE %
1	9.13	45.6	45.6
2	1.79	9.0	54.6
3	1.47	7.4	62.0
4	1.06	5.3	67.3
<u>ROTATED FACTORS</u>			
1		23.4	
2		23.8	
3		14.7	61.9

TABLE 10 : Factor matrix using principal factoring. The first three common factors of the Political Activity Index for the Greek sample are shown

(a) The unrotated solution				(b) The equimax rotated solution		
ITEM	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 1 'Interest'	FACTOR 2 'Protest'	FACTOR 3 'Commitment'
1	0.64	-0.13	0.38	0.69	0.12	0.45
2	-0.05	0.34	0.57	-0.11	-0.31	0.58
3*	0.40	0.18	-0.14	0.08	0.42	0.18
4	0.47	0.44	-0.37	-0.12	0.70	0.21
5	0.45	-0.37	0.30	0.64	-0.02	0.16
6	0.77	-0.32	0.02	0.72	0.39	0.14
7	0.51	-0.46	0.11	0.69	0.11	0.01
8	0.76	-0.26	0.02	0.68	0.40	0.17
9	0.62	-0.36	0.28	0.73	0.10	0.23
10	0.74	-0.07	-0.15	0.47	0.56	0.17
11	0.81	-0.25	-0.09	0.67	0.52	0.12
12	0.80	0.01	-0.10	0.47	0.60	0.27
13	0.71	0.42	0.21	0.20	0.45	0.70
14	0.81	0.09	0.21	0.51	0.41	0.54
15	0.78	0.21	-0.30	0.26	0.78	0.26
16	0.78	0.20	-0.34	0.25	0.81	0.22
17	0.74	0.02	-0.30	0.37	0.70	0.12
18	0.70	0.45	0.27	0.19	0.42	0.75
19	0.64	0.43	0.36	0.18	0.39	0.77
20*	0.79	-0.22	-0.17	0.61	0.56	0.08

\* Items with an asterisk differ in the two samples

N = 50 p.01 .35 (for 1st and 2nd factors), .56 (for 3rd factor)  
p.05 .26 (for 1st factor), .27 (for 2nd factor),  
.28 (for 3rd factor)

N = 100 p.01 .25 (for 1st factor), .26 (for 2nd factor),  
.27 (for 3rd factor)  
p.05 .19 (for 1st factor), .20 (2nd and 3rd factors)

[From Child 1970]

TABLE 11 : Eigenvalues and percentages of explained variance for the four common factors and the three rotated factors for the British data

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	% OF VARIANCE	CUMULATIVE %
1	10.61	53.0	53.0
2	1.84	9.2	62.3
3	1.34	6.7	69.0
4	1.23	6.2	75.1
ROTATED FACTORS			
1		31.9	
2		22.0	
3		14.8	68.7

TABLE 12 : Factor matrix using principal factoring. The first three common factors of the Political Activity Index for the British sample are shown

(a) The unrotated solution				(b) The varimax rotated solution		
ITEM	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 1 'Commitment'	FACTOR 2 'Interest'	FACTOR 3 'Protest'
1	0.81	0.30	-0.19	0.35	0.73	0.37
2	0.35	0.26	-0.58	-0.01	0.72	-0.12
3*	0.66	0.17	0.19	0.39	0.31	0.50
4	0.30	0.44	0.30	-0.03	0.16	0.59
5	0.68	0.17	-0.18	0.35	0.58	0.25
6	0.84	0.17	-0.10	0.48	0.62	0.36
7	0.67	0.32	-0.31	0.21	0.74	0.23
8	0.82	0.16	-0.15	0.46	0.64	0.31
9	0.86	0.03	-0.14	0.58	0.59	0.26
10	0.78	0.22	-0.02	0.41	0.56	0.42
11	0.89	0.12	-0.09	0.55	0.62	0.36
12	0.84	-0.22	0.14	0.77	0.28	0.31
13	0.87	-0.39	0.11	0.91	0.24	0.19
14	0.87	-0.25	-0.09	0.78	0.45	0.14
15	0.20	0.14	0.16	0.08	0.06	0.27
16	0.69	0.17	0.47	0.45	0.14	0.70
17	0.42	0.50	0.56	0.06	0.07	0.85
18	0.81	-0.43	0.20	0.91	0.12	0.21
19	0.76	-0.52	-0.07	0.89	0.25	-0.05
20*	0.85	-0.43	0.08	0.91	0.24	0.14

\* Items with an asterisk differ in the two samples

From the above results the differences between the first factors of the unrotated solution from both samples can be examined and the way in which these differences are resolved by the rotation can be seen. Factor 1 in the unrotated factor matrix is a general factor of activism, in both samples. With the exception of item 2 in the Greek data and item 15 in the British data, all other items load significantly on this first factor. After the rotation item 2 loads on 'commitment' in the Greek case and on 'interest' in the British case; while item 15 loads on 'protest' in both cases.

Thus after the rotation of the factors all of the items belong to some factor while the clusters in each one of the factors are easily recognized as having something in common.

The rest of the items loaded on the first factors with variant loadings. The differences in the values of their loadings varied from .11 to .32. After the rotation these differences decreased and varied from .5 to .22. Thus after the rotation the factors came closer when compared across the two cultures in terms of their loadings.

The three unrotated factors also gain in equivalence within each culture, after they are rotated. The initial factor analysis resulted in one big factor and two

small factors. The rotated solution produced three factors that decreased in importance but were better balanced (see Tables 9 and 11). Thus in the Greek case the first rotated factor accounts for 23.4%, the second for 23.8%, and the third for 14.7% of the total variance, to be compared with the 45.6%, 9.0%, and 7.4% of the unrotated solution, respectively. In the British case the first rotated factor accounted for 31.9%, the second for 22.0%, and the third for 14.8% of the total variance, to be compared with the 53.0%, 9.2%, and 6.7% of the unrotated solution, respectively.

If the above analysis leaves doubts as to the usefulness of the three factors then the point to be remembered here is that the main focus of this thesis is on the theoretical and empirical complexity of the concept of political activity. There is no doubt that all of the items refer to aspects of political activity. The issue to be verified however is whether some of these items have anything in common to a greater extent than some other items, and can therefore constitute a separate form of political activity. The theoretical distinctions in the concept have been made. The empirical ones are now corroborated through the use of factor analysis. The rotation of three of the factors of political activity results in three distinct factors which correspond to different aspects of political activity, psychologically meaningful and easy to interpret on the basis of

the theoretical complexity of the concept.

Had the interest in this thesis been on accounting for political activity with the minimum of complexity, the two small unrotated factors could have been ignored. But the interest being in the refinement of the concept, the two small factors are gladly considered and included in the final analysis of the data.

The interpretation of the factors was based on the meaning of all the items that loaded significantly on them at the .01 level of significance, as well as on the meaning of the items that were unique for each factor. Here, the interpretation of the rotated factors will be made, first for the Greek and then for the British data.

#### A. THE GREEK CASE

Factor 1 is characterized by all those items which refer to talking about politics, reading the news, being interested and excited about political events, being active in politics, and participating in political meetings, strikes and student meetings. Factor 2 has a lot in common with factor 1. It is characterized by items referring to talking about politics, but in a far lesser degree than factor 1. It is also characterized by items referring



to listening to political broadcasts, supporting one's own political views with evidence from external sources, being interested and excited about politics, and being active in a wide range of political activities, i.e. attending political meetings, marches, demonstrations strikes and student meetings, as well as distributing political literature and working for a political organization. Factor 3 is characterized by items referring to reading and listening to the news and items referring to being active in politics by working for a political organization, holding a responsible role in some political events, and distributing political literature.

Factor 1 is uniquely characterized by the items which refer to discussing politics in family, finding political discussions interesting and offering advice on political issues. In addition it has nearly nothing in common with factor 3, except two items which refer to reading the newspapers and being active in politics which are of a very general meaning anyway. Factor 2 is uniquely characterized by the items which refer to listening to foreign broadcasts, seeking external support for one's own political ideas, and taking part in marches and demonstrations. In relation to factor 1, with which as mentioned above it shares many common items, it is distinguished by the items which refer to working for a political organization and distributing political literature (items Nos.13 and 18). Factor 3 is uniquely characterized by the items which refer to listening to the news and having a responsible role in some political event. It shares with factor 2 the two items which distinguish it from factor 1, i.e. working for a political organization and distributing political literature.

On the basis of the above observations the first factor has been named the factor of 'interest', the second the factor of 'protest' and the third the factor of 'commitment'. These, as can be understood, are broad labels aiming at the highest degree of generality for the items of each factor and at the highest degree of differentiation amongst the factors. They can be justified on the grounds of what appears to be most characteristic for each factor, in terms of the activities a person with a high score on the particular factor would engage into. Thus, somebody with a high score on factor 1 would talk about politics a lot, with different people and in different situations. His active part would be limited to attending meetings and strikes, which in a student context means no more than abstention from classes. Somebody else with a high score on factor 2 would engage in political discussions with fewer people and in fewer situations than the person described above. On the other hand he would stick his neck out more often than the factor 1 person, by participating in marches and demonstrations, by working for a political organization and by distributing political literature. Finally, a third person with a high score on factor 3, would not only work for a political organization and distribute political literature, but would also hold a responsible role in some political events. He would also both read the newspapers and listen to the news. On the other hand he would exhibit a lack of interest in both the social and student aspect of politics. He would not talk about politics in any of the social situations that the other two persons would, nor would he attend student meetings, strikes, demonstrations or marches all of which

entail some form of social interaction and relevance to student issues. This last factor presents an air of seriousness and preoccupation with doing one thing in the political realm. It brings to my mind the picture of some left-wing students in Greece who are committed members of a political organization, who occupy a high rank in it, work very hard for it and have no time for anything else. This is why I named this factor the factor of 'commitment' in the context of the Greek student politics. On the other hand, I might be totally misled, and this factor might be a factor of conservative action in politics. After all it is characterized by a lack of radical activities and an interest in listening to the news, which in Greece always expresses the government's viewpoint, since the press is controlled by the government. At this stage, however, all it can be hoped for is that the following analysis of the data will clarify the nature of this third factor.

With these three factors, as can be seen from Table 9, 61.9% of the total variance of political activism is explained. The first factor accounts for most of this variance, i.e. 23.4%, and it constitutes a factor of interest in politics. The second factor accounts for 23.8% of the variance, and it is a factor of protest activity in politics. Finally, the third factor accounts for 14.7% of the variance and it is a factor of commitment to politics.

## B. THE BRITISH CASE

Factor 1 is characterized by nearly all the items of the Political Activity Index. Items referring to talking about politics as well as being active in various ways in politics, all load significantly on it. However, one can not ignore the very high loadings of the items referring to working for a political organization, distributing political literature, attending the meetings of a political club, and having a responsible role in some political event. Factor 2 is characterized by items referring to reading the newspapers, listening to the news, discussing politics with family and friends, being interested, excited and active in politics. Most of these items characterize factor 1 too. However factor 2 has unique items and one has to notice the items referring to reading the newspapers, listening to the news and finding political discussions interesting which load very highly on this factor. Factor 3 is characterized also by items referring to reading the newspapers, participating in student body action, seeking external support for one's own political ideas, talking with friends about politics, being interested and excited about politics and in addition participating in demonstrations and strikes, which load very highly on it.

Factor 1 is uniquely characterized by those items which refer to attending political meetings, working for a political organization, distributing political literature, having a responsible role in some political event and attending the meetings of a political club. Factor 2 is uniquely characterized by the items

which refer to listening to the news and finding political discussions interesting. The rest of the items which characterize it also characterize factor 1. Interestingly enough, these two unique items of factor 2 do not in any way refer to something totally different or unrelated to the rest of the items that characterize it. It seems to be a sub-factor of factor 1 or a part of it. Factor 3 is uniquely characterized by the items referring to seeking external support for one's own political views, and taking part in strikes. It shares some items with both factors 1 and 2, which as a result load significantly on all three factors. Item 15 does not load significantly on any of the three factors. However, it just misses the .05 level, on factor 3, and because of its theoretical closeness to items 16 and 17 one would not leave unnoticed its little loading on this factor.

Factor 1 on the basis of the loadings of all the items on it is obviously a general factor of interest and activism in politics. Its unique items would tend to classify it as a factor of commitment to a particular political organization or a political cause. However, it should be distinguished from the factor of commitment in the Greek context. There the factor of commitment did not incorporate the items referring to general interest or activities in politics. That one was a small and narrow factor. This is a general and broad factor. If it is to be called a 'commitment' factor it is so as to distinguish it from factor 2, which is an 'interest' factor. Factor 2 is characterized by all

the items which refer to interest in politics. It includes exclusively items referring to talking about politics, being informed about politics and being active by participating in student body actions at the most. Factor 3 has been named the factor of 'protest'. It includes some items which refer to interest in politics as do both factors 1 and 2, but it also includes activism items which factor 2 does not, and factor 1 does but to a lesser extent. What it is that can characterize it as a factor of protest, I think, is item 17 which refers to participating in strikes, and it is a unique item, as well as item 16 which refers to participating in peace marches. On the other hand, this last factor could be named a factor of 'social interaction' in politics. All of its items, except for that referring to reading the newspapers which is common to all factors, refer to activities which belong to the mass-aspect of politics or which engage a number of other people in an interactive context. Both the unique items of this factor, i.e. relying on external support for the substantiation of one's own political ideas and participating in strikes, include this 'exchange with other people' element of politics. In any case the naming of the factors is always an unfinished task. Here, the same names have finally been used for both cultural settings, although some differences exist in what these names imply in the two cultures.

With the three factors in the British sample, 68.7% of the total variance of political activity has

been accounted for (see Table 11). The first factor accounts for 31.9% of the total variance and it has been named a factor of 'commitment'. Obviously, however, it constitutes a general factor of activism in politics. The second factor accounts for 22% of the total variance. It is a factor of interest in student politics. The third factor accounts for 14.8% of the total variance, and it is a factor of protest activity in politics.

### C. CONCLUSION

To summarize and conclude this section on the factor analysis of the Political Activity Index the following points will be made.

(a) The rotated 3-factor solution rather than the unrotated 1-factor solution was preferred for reasons of theoretical refinement of the concept of political activity and statistical considerations.

(b) The three factors from the Greek data were: (1) factor of interest, (2) factor of protest, (3) factor of commitment.

The three factors from the British data were: (1) factor of commitment, (2) factor of interest, (3) factor of protest.

These are to be distinguished in the two cultures. Factor 1 in the Greek context differs from factor 2 in the British context, because factor 1 includes items of



political activity of moderate degree, while factor 2 is a purely 'interest' factor. Factor 2 in the Greek context differs from factor 3 in the British context, because it is a wider factor of interest and extensive political activism than factor 3 which is a factor of interest and very limited and specific political activism. Factor 3 in the Greek context differs from factor 1 in the British context because factor 3 is a limited and narrow factor of activism while factor 1 is a general and broad factor of interest and activity in politics.

(c) For further statistical treatment of the variable of political activity factor scores were produced for each one of the three factors. These were assigned to each one of the students participating in the study and indicated his/her score on each one of the factors of political activity.

(d) The results of the factor analysis of political activity validate the theoretical classification of political activity. To account for this variable empirically three factors have been found to be needed corresponding to, (1) interest in politics, (2) protest activity and (3) commitment to a political cause. After the empirical classification of the variable of political activity has been achieved the analysis of the data can proceed with the purpose of finding out how the psychological data collected can help one to distinguish between the three different forms of political activity.



## CHAPTER 6 :

### F O O T N O T E S

1. Adelman and Morris (1966), p.130. Also for some of the unique characteristics of factor analysis which render it appropriate to the analysis of the present data see Burt, Cyril (1949, 1950).
2. Latent root or eigenvalue is equal to the sum of the squares of the loadings for each factor, (Child, 1970).
3. In other words, the choice of the rotational method used was made ex post and for its justification see Appendix D where the alternative rotations for each culture are presented in detail.

CHAPTER 7 :

TRANSFORMATION AND ANALYSIS  
OF THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES  
BEFORE ENTERING  
THE FINAL ANALYSIS

## CHAPTER 7 :

### TRANSFORMATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES BEFORE ENTERING THE FINAL ANALYSIS

In this section the variables will be discussed in four categories. The first category includes the variables that were measured by clusters of single items measuring the same hypothetical concept but which did not constitute a standard measuring instrument. The second category includes the variables that were measured by standard instruments. The third category includes the variables that were measured by the Semantic Differential technique; and finally the fourth category includes the values which were measured by the Rokeach Value Profile.

#### A. POLITICAL PERCEPTION AND GENERAL ACTIVITY INDEX

Political Perception was measured by the following items on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from strong agreement to strong disagreement.

1. Politics are not something separate, but pervade almost all aspects of life.
2. In the long run national political issues are more important than international political issues (reversed scoring).
3. The political ideologies of people are influenced by factors such as their personalities or their various psychological needs.

4. The only way social conflict can be eliminated is through the change of governments (reversed scoring)

These four items were initially incorporated into the factor analysis of the Political Activity Index. The purpose of this was to find out whether a common factor of activism and perception existed in the data. But the results showed that these four items tended to stay apart.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE 13: Intercorrelations of the 4 items of political perception in the Greek data

Items	1	2	3	4
1	1.00			
2	0.34	1.00		
3	-0.19	-0.33	1.00	
4	-0.02	-0.05	0.06	1.00

N = 70      p.01      r .31       $\pm$       p.05      r .23       $\pm$

(From Child, 1970)

TABLE 14: Intercorrelations of the 4 items of political perception in the British data

Items	1	2	3	4
1	1.00			
2	0.09	1.00		
3	-0.10	-0.12	1.00	
4	0.01	-0.02	0.09	1.00

. This being the picture, the four items could not be grouped together and produce a single score. Thus, it was decided to leave them as separate items relevant to political perception. They were treated as items measuring exactly what their content referred to.

The negative correlation of item 3 with item 2 and 1 - significant only in the first case in the Greek data - might appear a little confusing at first. But judging from its content it should not. If a politically active person is expected to score high in the first two items it would not be so easy to score equally high in the third. Because to expect him to accept that what he considers as being very important, i.e. politics and his participation in it, might at the same time be so, not on objective grounds, but as a

result of his personality and psychological needs, is to expect too much. After all, committed people are not well-known relativists. On the other hand, a person not interested or not greatly involved in politics would answer item 3 in a positive way since it partly justifies his own lack of concern with political affairs.

The General Activities Index consisted of six items referring to the frequency with which one engages in various activities. The first item referred to attendance of classes and lectures and thus it was kept as a single item measuring class attendance. The remaining five items were combined and their scores were added to each other to produce a total score of general activities.

B. AUTHORITARIANISM (F) AND RADICALISM (R) <sup>2</sup>

Both these variables were measured by standard instruments which readily provide a total score by adding the scores of their individual items. However, because none of these instruments was standardized for the Greek population it was considered desirable to test their unidimensionality before taking it for granted. Thus factor analysis was applied to their items with the purpose of finding out whether there was only one main factor that they were measuring and thus justifiably combine them in a total score. Factor analysis was performed on the British data as well, for comparative purposes.

The method of factoring used was classical or common-factor solution, which produces inferred factors with communality estimates replacing the main diagonals, in other words assuming the existence of both common and unique variance in the variables. <sup>3</sup>

Table 15 presents the results of the factor analysis of F Scale, measuring Authoritarianism. The initial factor analysis extracted 29 factors equal to the number of items and from these nine were judged as significant according to Kaiser's criterion, discussed previously. The first factor accounts for 32.9% of the total variance and most of the items load significantly on it, at the .01 level or above. Item 28 reaches the .05 level. Items 24 and 26 also do not load significantly on the first factor. Item 26 loads on the second factor, while item 24 does not load significantly on any of the factors. Comparing these results with the results from the British data, it was decided to accept the homogeneity of the scale for the Greek population and produce a total F-score based on all the items of the F Scale.

TABLE 15 : Eigenvalues and percentages of explained variance for the nine common factors of Authoritarianism for the Greek data.  
Factor matrix showing factor loadings on the first factor

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	% OF VARIANCE	CUMULATIVE %
1	9.55	32.9	32.9
2	2.59	8.9	41.9
3	1.89	6.5	48.4
4	1.49	5.1	53.5
5	1.46	5.0	58.6
6	1.36	4.7	63.3
7	1.16	4.0	67.2
8	1.06	3.7	70.9
9	1.02	3.5	74.4

ITEMS	FACTOR 1
1	0.73
2	0.54
3	0.78
4	0.66
5	0.60
6	0.43
7	0.49
8	0.76
9	0.68
10	0.51
11	0.62
12	0.69
13	0.44
14	0.79
15	0.60
16	0.61
17	0.72
18	0.50
19	0.58
20	0.41
21	0.72
22	0.37
23	0.56
24	0.11
25	0.50
26	0.18
27	0.42
28	0.27
29	0.26

N = 70      r .05 ≥ .23 ±  
                   r .01 ≥ .31 ±

Table 16 presents the results from the British data. As can be seen the initial factor analysis extracted 29 factors again, eight of which were common factors. The first factor accounted for 23.7% of the total variance. All items except items 18 and 27 loaded significantly on this first factor, three of them, i.e. items 3, 5 and 24 at the .05 level of significance, and all the rest at the .01 level or above. Items 3 and 24 load on the second factor, items 5 and 27 on the third, and item 18 on the sixth factor.



TABLE 16 : Eigenvalues and percentages of explained variance for the eight common factors of Authoritarianism for the British data. Factor matrix showing factor loadings on the first factor

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	% OF VARIANCE	CUMULATIVE %
1	6.87	23.7	23.7
2	2.03	7.0	30.7
3	1.94	6.7	37.4
4	1.76	6.1	43.4
5	1.59	5.5	48.9
6	1.44	5.0	53.9
7	1.28	4.4	58.3
8	1.23	4.2	62.6

ITEMS	FACTOR 1
1	0.78
2	0.48
3	0.26
4	0.62
5	0.28
6	0.33
7	0.49
8	0.70
9	0.43
10	0.30
11	0.31
12	0.54
13	0.63
14	0.51
15	0.59
16	0.45
17	0.47
18	0.05
19	0.38
20	0.41
21	0.51
22	0.58
23	0.62
24	0.28
25	0.45
26	0.39
27	0.12
28	0.48
29	0.32

N = 76

It is very interesting to look closer at item 24 and try to explain its irrelevance to Authoritarianism as measured by the F Scale for the Greek sample. The frequency distribution of F items shows that it is the only item whose mean exceeds the neutral point 4.<sup>4</sup> As can be seen from Table 17 it has a mean of 5.18 and a mode of 6 which make it the only item of the F Scale for which Greek students expressed a more or less homogeneous support. Thus, statistically since it does not correlate with the rest of the items, factor analysis finds it not to belong to Authoritarianism. Now the reason that made Greek students react in such a way to this particular item, I think, should be sought in the political events in the country at the time. Incidentally, item 24 reads: "Most people don't realize how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret places." When this study took place it was only one year after the fall of the dictatorship and it was also the year of revelations. The press was constantly preoccupied with the way the coup-d'état was planned eight years ago and the role the CIA played in the political affairs of the country during the dictatorship; as well as with the role other countries have played, always in the side scene, and which had greatly influenced the history of the country. I think that these current concerns of the people of Greece were reflected in the tendency of the Greek students to agree with item 24 in the Scale. Therefore it can justifiably be considered as not tapping on the authoritarianism dimension, for this particular sample, but being strongly influenced by other considerations.

TABLE 17 : Frequencies and statistics for item 24 of  
the F Scale in the Greek data

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCIES	Relative Freq. (%)	Cum. Freq. (%)
Strong disagreement	1.00	4	6.0	6.0
Moderate disagreement	2.00	6	9.0	14.9
Slight disagreement	3.00	6	9.0	23.9
Slight agreement	5.00	12	17.9	41.8
Moderate agreement	6.00	20	29.9	71.6
Strong agreement	7.00	19	28.4	100.0
		67	100.0	

MEAN	5.18	STD ERR	0.23	MEDIAN	5.77
MODE	6.00	ST DEV	1.89		

Table 18 presents the results of the factor analysis of the Radicalism-Conservatism scale for the Greek sample. This scale had been previously used with samples of students in the U.S.A. but not in Britain, at least to my knowledge. Thus a factor analysis on the data of both samples seemed desirable not only for comparative reasons this time. As can be seen from the Table, the initial analysis extracted four common factors. The first accounts for 41.4% of the total variance while all items - except for item 11 - load significantly on it above the .01 level of significance. Item 11 loads on the second factor. It reads: "It is up to the government to make sure that everyone has a secure job and a good standard of

living" and agreement with it is supposed to indicate radicalism. Greek students have a mean score of above 4, which is the neutral point in the scale, on all items except for item 11. On it they have a mean score of 4 and a standard deviation of 2.28, which is too big in comparison to the standard deviations of the rest of the items. From discussions with Greek students on this particular issue it became clear that the item does not refer to something unanimously considered as a radical view. Either things have changed since the scale was constructed and this view is not radical any more or it is a peculiarity of Greek radicalism to reject it. Judging from the British data where this particular item has relatively very low correlations with the rest of the items, I would tend to say that the item has at the present time lost some of its discriminatory power and it has become dated.

TABLE 18 : Eigenvalues and percentages of explained variance for the four common factors of Radicalism for the Greek data. Factor matrix showing factor loadings on the first factor. Unrotated matrix using classical factoring.

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	% OF VARIANCE	CUMULATIVE %
1	5.79	41.4	41.4
2	1.90	13.6	54.9
3	1.29	9.2	64.1
4	1.02	7.3	71.4

ITEMS	FACTOR 1
1	0.74
2	0.57
3	0.69
4	0.38
5	0.82
6	0.58
7	0.60
8	0.86
9	0.38
10	0.53
11	0.02
12	0.64
13	0.58
14	0.84

Table 19 presents the results for the British sample. Here three factors were extracted as common ones. The first factor accounts for 45.2% of the total variance with all the items, except for item 9, loading on it above the .01 level of significance. Item 9 loads better on the second factor. It reads: "In general, full economic security is harmful, most men wouldn't work if they didn't need the money for eating and living" and it requires a reversed scoring for radicalism. There is nothing peculiar in the frequency distribution or the statistics of this item. It simply does not correlate very well with the rest of the items and thus its loading is significant only at the .05 level on the first factor. Judging from the results of the Greek sample where it is not one of the best items in the scale, I would tend again to consider the item as having lost in discriminatory power over time or place and as a result more and more people disagree with it without being radical in their other views.

TABLE 19 : Eigenvalues and percentages of explained variance for the three common factors of Radicalism for the British data. Factor matrix showing factor loadings on the first factor. Unrotated solution, using classical factoring.

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	% OF VARIANCE	CUMULATIVE %
1	6.32	45.2	45.2
2	1.49	10.7	55.8
3	1.06	7.5	63.4

ITEMS	FACTOR 1
1	0.87
2	0.73
3	0.73
4	0.79
5	0.61
6	0.60
7	0.64
8	0.76
9	0.24
10	0.63
11	0.31
12	0.50
13	0.67
14	0.66

After the results of these two factor analyses it was decided to accept the homogeneity of the R-C scale for both the British and the Greek samples and combine the scores on the individual items into a total R score, assuming that there was no real harm done in keeping the two items that did not load very significantly on the first factor.

C. FAMILY-, PARENTS-, AND SELF-EVALUATION;  
SELF-PARENTS SIMILARITY; AND PERCEPTION  
OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

All of these concepts were measured by the Semantic Differential Technique, using identical scales for all of them. However, because the method used for calculating a total score for the different variables was not the same, these will now be discussed separately.

The first step in the analysis of the variable 'family evaluation' was to find out whether the three factors of Evaluation (E), Potency (P), and Activity (A), which usually characterize the analysis of semantic differential data, were also present here.<sup>5</sup>

Tables 20 and 21 present the results of the factor analysis of the concept 'My family'. As can be seen, in the Greek data only two factors emerged as common ones. The first is a general factor of Evaluation where all of the scales load significantly.<sup>6</sup> Those scales which classically load on Evaluation, i.e. numbers 2, 3, 6 and 8, load positively on this first factor. From the scales that usually load on Potency, i.e. numbers 1, 5 and 9, two load negatively and one positively on the first factor. Finally, from the scales that usually load on Activity, i.e. 4, 7 and 10, again two load negatively and one positively on the first factor. The second factor has no significant loadings from the Evaluation scales. It has only the Potency and Activity scales loading on it in a positive manner.<sup>7</sup> What became obvious from this analysis was that all Scales

contained an evaluative element for the concept 'my family'. The positive end of the Evaluation scales had positive connotations for the 'family' concept while the positive end of the Potency and Activity scales - with the exception of scales 1 and 4 - had negative connotations for the same concept. The total score for family evaluation was based on these two main factors. Two scores were computed. One was named 'family evaluation' and was the total of all scores on the Evaluation scales, i.e. 2, 3, 6 and 8. The second was named 'family dynamism' and was the total of the scales loading negatively on the Evaluation factor, or in other words positively and uniquely so on the Potency and Activity combined factor. The two scales loading positively on both factors, i.e. 1: strong-weak, and 4: active-passive, were not considered.

In the British data four common factors emerged. The first was an Evaluation factor including all the scales that usually load on it. In addition it included two Activity scales, one positive the other negative, and one Potency scale. It should be noted here that these scales behaved in exactly the same way in the Greek data too. The second factor was a combined Potency and Activity factor. It included all the scales that usually load on this factor, and only these - with the exception of number 6 which is an Evaluation scale and loaded negatively on the Potency and Activity factor. The third and fourth factors were combined Potency and Activity factors, with no unique scales loading on them. Thus, only the first two main factors were considered. The total score for family evaluation, was computed in exactly the same way as for



the Greek data. A total score for 'family evaluation' was based on the Evaluation scales 2, 3, 6 and 8; while a total score for 'family dynamism' was based on the Potency and Activity scales 5, 7, 9 and 10. Scales 1 and 4 were again excluded.

TABLE 20 : Eigenvalues and percentages of explained variance for the two common factors of the concept 'My family' for the Greek data. Unrotated factor matrix, using principal factoring, showing factor loadings on the two common factors.

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	% OF VARIANCE	CUMULATIVE %
1	4.23	42.3	42.3
2	1.74	17.4	59.7

SCALES	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2
1	0.62	0.51
2	0.72	0.14
3	0.73	0.24
4	0.40	0.59
5	-0.41	0.59
6	0.77	0.05
7	-0.80	0.21
8	0.75	0.12
9	-0.48	0.67
10	-0.59	0.41

N = 66

p.01 > .25 (for the 1st factor), .27 (for the 2nd factor)  
p.05 > .19 ( " " ), .20 ( " " )

TABLE 21 : Eigenvalues and percentages of explained variance for the four common factors of the concept 'My family' for the British data. Unrotated factor matrix using principal factoring, showing factor loadings on the first two common factors.

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	% OF VARIANCE	CUMULATIVE %
1	3.47	34.8	34.8
2	1.69	17.0	51.8
3	1.09	10.9	62.7
4	1.01	10.1	72.8

SCALES	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2
1	0.71	0.53
2	0.79	0.17
3	0.84	-0.07
4	0.73	0.30
5	-0.12	0.60
6	0.71	-0.27
7	-0.51	0.59
8	0.48	-0.03
9	0.18	0.67
10	-0.14	0.45

N = 74

To summarize, 'family' was evaluated along two dimensions. The one evaluative, based on the scores of the scales friendly-hostile, pleasant-unpleasant, fair-unfair, and successful-unsuccessful; the other potent-active, based on the scores of the scales dangerous-harmless, belligerent-peaceful, hard-soft, and excitable-calm. For

the Greek sample this second dimension was also evaluative, its potent-active end being of negative affect. For the British sample, however, the second dimension was mostly free of evaluation.

The evaluation of the self and parental concepts was done in a different way. Data had been collected on the concepts 'My father', 'My mother', 'My self', 'The ideal father', 'The ideal mother', and 'My ideal self'. Following Osgood's research, the differences in the profiles of these concepts were calculated according to the mathematical formula  $D = \sqrt{\sum d_{jl}^2}$ , where  $D$  = difference,  $j$  and  $l$  = pairs of adjectives on which the concepts are rated,  $\sum d$  = sum of the differences of each pair of concepts, [Osgood et al. 1957, p.130]. Thus the evaluation of these variables was done on the basis of ideal-actual scores.

The measurement of the Self-Parents Similarity was done in a similar manner. Using the same data and mathematical formula as above, the self-father similarity was computed on the basis of the differences in the scales upon which the concepts 'My self' and 'My father' were rated; while the self-mother similarity was computed using the concepts 'My self' and 'My mother'. Thus one score was assigned to each one of the self- and parents-evaluation and similarity variables.

'Political participation' was the last concept to be measured by the semantic differential scales. A factor analysis was performed in the data in order to find out how many factors were

needed for its interpretation.<sup>8</sup> Table 22 presents the results for the Greek sample. Three factors emerged as common ones. However, these were not distinctly of the E-P-A structure. The first was an Evaluation (E) factor, having loadings of all the E scales. In addition scales 1(P) and 4(A) loaded positively on it, as well as scale 7(A) and 5(P) negatively, exactly in the same way as they did for the concept 'My family'. The second factor was a Potency (P) and Activity (A) combined factor, where all the P and A scales loaded significantly. The third factor was a combined E and A factor with no unique scales loading on it however. Thus, it was not considered in the calculation of a total score for 'political participation'. Two scores were computed for the perception of political participation. The first was the total of the scores of the scales 2, 3, 6 and 8 of the evaluative dimension. The second was the total of the scores of the scales 5, 7, 9 and 10 of the potency and activity or dynamism dimension. Scales 1 and 4 were again not considered.

TABLE 22 : Eigenvalues and percentages of explained variance for the three common factors of the concept 'Political participation' for the Greek data. Unrotated factor matrix, using principal factoring showing factor loadings on the first two common factors

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	% OF VARIANCE	CUMULATIVE %
1	3.00	30.1	30.1
2	2.25	22.5	52.6
3	1.29	13.0	65.6

N = 58

SCALES	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2
1	0.69	0.44
2	0.69	-0.14
3	0.63	-0.01
4	0.75	0.43
5	-0.26	0.80
6	0.43	-0.41
7	-0.50	0.47
8	0.71	0.21
9	0.05	0.69
10	-0.17	0.52

The results for the British data are shown in Table 23. There two factors emerged as common ones. The loadings of the E,P,A scales were this time slightly altered. On the first factor loaded positively all the E scales and negatively two P and two A scales. However, it could still be identified as an Evaluative factor. The second factor was almost as important as the first factor, accounting for nearly equal amount of variance in the scales, which is very unusual for the factoring of semantic differential data. It had positive loadings of all P and A scales, with the exception of scale 5 (P). In addition it had positive loadings from two of the E scales. In order to maximally differentiate between the two factors, the total scores for political participation were computed in the following way. The first based on factor one, representing a score on the evaluative dimension was the sum of the scores on the scales 2 : friendly-hostile, and 6 : fair-unfair, which loaded significantly only on

the first factor. The second score was based on factor two and it represented a dynamism score. It was the sum of the scores on the scales 1 : strong-weak, 4 : active-passive, 7 : belligerent-peaceful, 8 : successful-unsuccessful, 9 : hard-soft, and 10 : excitable-calm, which are all, except for number 8, common P and A scales. Scale number 8 was also included because of its low loading on factor 1 in relation to factor 2. The scales 3 and 5 were not considered as they either loaded highly on both factors or negatively on only one of them.

TABLE 23 : Eigenvalues, and percentages of explained variance for the two common factors of the concept 'Political participation' for the British data. Unrotated factor matrix, using principal factoring, showing factor loadings on the two common factors.

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	% OF VARIANCE	CUMULATIVE %
1	3.51	35.1	35.1
2	3.05	30.6	65.7

N = 73

SCALES	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2
1	0.18	0.85
2	0.79	0.14
3	0.70	0.43
4	0.10	0.87
5	-0.67	0.19
6	0.75	0.20
7	-0.76	0.38
8	0.26	0.73
9	-0.55	0.63
10	-0.58	0.41

In this way the first score for the perception of political participation expresses an evaluation of it along a 'good-bad' dimension characterized by scales which traditionally belong to this dimension, while the second score expresses an evaluation of it along the 'strong and active - weak and passive' dimension which in the Greek sample includes only P and A scales, while in the British sample it includes E , P and A scales.

#### D. VALUES

The 36 values of the Rokeach Value Profile were not included in the final analysis of the data for the following two reasons. First, because each one of them would have to be treated as a separate variable and this was judged as unacceptable, since most of the independent variables were compound scores of single items, and since such a treatment would double the number of the independent variables. Second, because of their ipsative nature the value rankings do not offer themselves for complicated statistical analysis. Of course Rokeach argues that for practical purposes the values can be considered as independent; nonetheless he himself carries out very little statistical computations with the value scores, and I would not find it very wise to completely disregard what he is doing with his data. As a result, a complete separate analysis of the value scores was performed.

Some values, scored on a 5-point scale, were included in the discriminant analysis only of the data of the British sample, for which this type of scoring was available in addition to ranking.

The first step in the analysis of the value scores was to find out which values correlated significantly with each one of the three factors of activism. The second step was to find out how those high in comparison to those low in each one of the factors ranked all of the values. Table 24 presents the results of the two analyses of step one and step two.



TABLE 24:

Correlation, median and composite ranking or mean of the 36 values of the Value Survey for two categories of high/low scorers in each factor.

GREEK SAMPLE VALUE	'Interest'		Interested		Uninterested		'Protest'		Protesters		Non-Protesters		'Commitment'		Committed		Uncommitted	
	Correl.	Median	Comp.R	Median	Comp.R	Median	Comp.R	Corr.	Median	Comp.R	Median	Comp.R	Corr.	Median	Comp.R	Median	Comp.R	
A comfortable life	-.12	14.43	15	13.90	15		-.01		14.20	15	14.25	16	-.08	14.40	15	14.07	15	
An exciting life	-.20	8	9	5	3.5		.01		7.50	8	5.75	5	.09	6.75	5	7.50	8	
A sense of accomplishment	.50	6.25	5	7	8		.25		5.67	4	7.75	8	.05	6.20	4	6.70	6	
A world at peace	.05	3.31	3	5.10	5		.01		4.70	3	4.75	2	-.21	5	3	3	1	
A world of beauty	.00	11.11	11	12.30	12		.07		11.36	12	12.25	13	-.02	11.67	12	11.50	12	
Equality	-.03	2.64	1	2.50	1		.42		2.05	1	6	6	.17	2.18	1	3.40	3	
Family security	.03	13.40	14	13.50	14		-.33		14	14	12.67	15	.06	13.25	14	13.50	14	
Freedom	.11	2.75	2	3	2		.15		2.75	2	3.25	1	.14	2.31	2	3.17	2	
Happiness	-.19	11.80	12	9.17	11		-.18		11.30	11	9	10	.01	10.62	11	10.50	11	
Inner harmony	-.06	5.44	4	6.50	6.5		-.18		6.17	5	5.37	4	-.11	7	6	5.29	5	
Mature love	.01	6.4	6	5	3.5		.16		6.50	6	5.12	3	-.24	7.37	7	5.17	4	
National security	.06	15	16	15.75	17		-.52		16.50	17	12.33	14	.17	14.75	16	15.83	16	
Pleasure	-.09	16.11	17	15.17	16		-.36		15.61	16	16.71	17	-.09	15.80	17	16	17	
Salvation	-.11	17.80	18	17.69	18		-.37		17.85	18	17.54	18	-.00	17.77	18	17.75	18	
Self-respect	.13	7.28	7	8.50	9		.05		7.14	7	8.40	9	.02	7.50	8	8	9	
Social recognition	-.02	12.71	13	12.75	13		-.22		13.21	13	11.87	12	.13	12.60	13	12.83	13	
True friendship	.08	7.90	8	6.50	6.5		.14		7.75	9	7.25	7	-.07	7.83	9	7.25	7	
Wisdom	.09	8.75	10	9	10		.11		8.30	10	10	11	.02	8.75	10	9	10	
Ambitious	-.15	14.56	16	11.75	13		-.22		14.69	16	11.87	13	-.01	14.67	16	12.50	13.5	
Broadminded	-.07	4.10	2	4.67	2		.26		3.75	2	5.25	2	-.14	5.33	4	3.50	1	
Capable	.00	7.10	6	7	6.5		-.10		7.50	6	6.25	5.5	-.28	6.33	6	8.10	7	
Cheerful	-.21	12.90	13	10	10.5		.00		11.70	12	11.75	12	-.29	13	13	10.75	12	
Clean	.04	16.17	17	15.71	17		-.21		16.06	17	15.62	17	-.25	15.27	17	16.61	18	
Courageous	.12	4.40	4	4.37	1		.28		3.94	3	5.87	4	-.08	4.17	3	4.75	2	
Forgiving	-.00	13.75	14	14.12	16		-.04		14.50	14.5	13.75	16	-.40	14.87	15	12.50	13.5	
Helpful	.19	10	10	11.67	12		.07		10.30	10	11.67	11	-.03	10.33	11	10.50	11	
Honest	.02	4.17	3	5.87	4		.12		4.17	4	5.75	3	-.02	4	2	5.50	4	
Imaginative	.02	9.50	9	10	10.5		.17		9.50	9	10.87	10	-.10	9.87	9	9.50	9	
Independent	-.17	8.50	8	8.25	8		.16		8.17	8	9.67	9	-.06	9.62	8	7.50	6	
Intellectual	.05	7.50	7	8.37	9		.00		8.10	7	8	7	.07	7.67	7	8.50	8	
Logical	-.01	6.07	5	6.12	5		-.05		5.90	5	6.25	5.5	.20	5.75	5	6.50	5	
Loving	-.02	10.61	11	7	6.5		-.14		10.80	11	9.25	8	-.05	10.73	12	9.75	10	
Obedient	-.11	16.75	18	16.78	18		-.21		16.92	18	16.33	18	-.15	17	18	16.60	17	
Polite	-.03	14.17	15	13.75	15		-.27		14.50	14.5	12.87	15	.11	13.43	14	14.25	16	
Responsible	.13	3.50	1	5.12	3		.09		3.33	1	5	1	.11	3.20	1	5.17	3	
Self-controlled	.06	12.83	12	11.87	14		.07		12	13	12.25	14	-.30	10.25	10	13.67	15	

BRITISH SAMPLE VALUE	'Commitment'		Committed		Uncommitted		'Interest'		Interested		Uninterested		'Protest'		Protesters		Non-Protesters	
	Correl.		Median Comp.R		Median Comp.R		Correl.		Median Comp.R		Median Comp.R		Correl.		Median Comp.R		Median Comp.R	
			Mean N=25		Mean N=49				Mean N=38		Mean N=36				Mean N=26		Mean N=48	
A comfortable life	-.19		14.90	16	14.50	15	-.11		14.80	15	13.50	14	-.04		14.85	16	13.75	15
	-.01		3		3.04		-.17		3.21		2.83		-.14		3.15		2.96	
An exciting life	.13		4.50	1	8.90	8	-.04		9.50	11.5	7.50	5.5	.03		9	10	8.80	8
	.11		2.08		2.33		.02		2.29		2.19		.13		2.11		2.31	
A sense of accomplishment	.08		7.83	8	9.83	11	.12		8.83	9	9.50	10.5	.18		8.67	9	9.60	9
	.01		2.24		2.29		.05		2.32		2.22		.12		2.11		2.25	
A world at peace	-.08		12	13	9.50	10	.05		9.50	11.5	10.83	12	.16		8.60	8	11.25	13
	.02		2.20		2.29		-.09		2.26		2.25		.27		2.04		2.37	
A world of beauty	-.25		9.17	10	11.50	13	.15		9.10	10	12	13	.03		9.67	11	10.37	11.5
	-.33		2.04		2.49		-.05		2.29		2.39		.10		2.15		2.44	
Equality	.08		7	6	9.17	9	.02		8.50	8	8.30	7	-.40		4.67	1.5	10.37	11.5
	.16		1.92		2.16		-.02		2.08		2.08		.39		1.65		2.31	
Family security	.07		7.17	7	7.50	7	-.06		7.50	5.5	7.30	4	-.10		7.40	6	7.33	6
	.03		1.88		2		-.22		2.10		1.81		-.10		1.96		1.96	
Freedom	-.06		5	2	4.12	1	.16		3.87	1	5.70	2	.05		4.75	3	4.14	1
	-.08		1.56		1.55		-.25		1.42		1.69		-.06		1.65		1.50	
Happiness	-.22		8.50	9	5.50	2.5	-.22		7.83	7	5.30	1	-.13		8	7	6.25	4
	-.33		2.24		1.65		-.18		2		1.69		-.04		1.88		1.83	
Inner harmony <sup>10</sup>	-.04		10.50	12	7.30	6	-.10		7.50	5.5	8.50	8	-.23		10.67	13	7.37	7
	-.11		2.24		1.86		-.12		1.95		2.03		-.21		2.27		1.83	
Mature Love	-.14		6	4	5.50	2.5	.01		5.33	2	5.93	3	.02		4.67	1.5	6.14	3
	-.06		1.80		1.82		-.14		1.92		1.69		.13		1.61		1.92	
National security	-.01		16.72	17	15.83	17	.05		16.50	17	16.50	17	-.31		17.04	17	15	16
	.12		2.64		2.94		.04		2.79		2.89		-.27		3.23		2.62	
Pleasure	-.07		14.50	15	13.83	14	-.08		14.30	14	13.67	15	-.14		14.62	15	13.57	14
	-.29		3.08		2.57		-.21		2.97		2.50		-.02		2.73		2.75	
Salvation	.16		17.17	18	17.57	18	.01		17.30	18	17.59	18	-.11		17.54	18	17.52	18
	.21		3.28		3.57		-.04		3.32		3.64		-.25		3.85		3.27	
Self-respect	-.07		10	11	10.25	12	-.25		11.75	13	9.50	10.5	.13		9.75	12	10.25	10
	-.07		2.12		2.04		-.18		2.24		1.89		-.00		1.96		2.12	
Social recognition	-.00		14.25	14	15.12	16	.26		14.83	16	14.87	16	.10		14.40	14	15.14	17
	.04		3.24		3.37		.02		3.42		3.22		.01		3.31		3.33	
True friendship	-.13		5.17	3	5.65	4	-.16		5.93	3	9.17	9	-.10		5.57	4	5.56	2
	.13		1.60		1.67		-.01		1.66		1.64		.03		1.61		1.67	
Wisdom	.01		6.93	5	6.90	5	.16		6.25	4	7.50	5.5	-.02		7.20	5	6.71	5
	.04		2.08		2.22		.07		2.13		2.22		.17		2.04		2.25	
Ambitious	.15		9.50	10	12.20	13	.11		11.83	14	10	10	-.01		12.33	13.5	10.17	10
	.04		2.72		2.80		-.00		2.87		2.67		-.11		2.96		2.67	
Broadminded	-.03		6.50	3	5.86	4	-.10		6.17	4	5.92	4	.15		5.33	3	6.12	4
	-.03		1.72		1.67		-.02		1.66		1.72		.03		1.61		1.73	
Capable	-.01		7.83	7	7.67	5	-.04		8.50	9	7.33	6	-.04		9	8.5	7.10	5
	-.05		2.20		2.06		.03		2.13		2.08		.02		2.08		2.12	
Cheerful	-.25		10	12	8.06	7	-.04		9.21	11	8.06	7	-.02		9	8.5	8.67	6
	.00		2.28		2.22		-.12		2.37		2.11		-.04		2.31		2.21	
Clean	-.01		16.67	17	15.87	17	-.16		16.65	17	15.37	17	-.03		16.55	17	16	17.5
	.05		2.92		3.06		-.10		3.10		2.92		.00		2.92		3.06	
Courageous	.02		8.75	8	10.12	10	-.23		7.83	6	10.33	11.5	-.28		7	5	10.50	11
	.18		1.92		2.33		-.26		1.97		2.42		.17		1.96		2.31	
Forgiving	-.16		11.50	14	7.75	6	-.02		8.50	9	9.33	9	.06		8.67	7	10.67	12
	.06		1.92		1.92		-.04		1.82		2.03		.12		1.81		1.98	
Helpful	.11		7.50	6	8.08	8	-.02		7.50	5	8.20	8	-.24		5.62	4	8.63	7
	.11		1.92		2		.07		1.89		2.06		-.32		1.69		2.15	
Honest	.12		2.83	1	3.25	1	-.20		3.50	1	2.83	1	.10		2.80	1	3.42	1
	.00		1.36		1.43		.00		1.39		1.42		-.03		1.50		1.35	
Imaginative	.08		11	13	12	12	.19		8.50	9	13.06	15	.01		10.25	11	12.67	14.5
	.00		2.56		2.67		.15		2.47		2.81		.02		2.58		2.67	
Independent	-.15		9.50	10	9.33	9	.03		10.17	12	7.25	5	-.14		11	12	9	8
	-.02		2.32		2.24		-.01		2.34		2.19		-.05		2.35		2.23	
Intellectual	-.22		6.83	4	10.25	11	.19		8.25	7	10.33	11.5	-.02		9.75	10	9.50	9
	.08		2.56		2.71		.11		2.63		2.69		.15		2.50		2.71	
Logical	.07		9.50	10	13.87	16	.11		11.50	13	14.37	16	.05		12.75	15	13.75	16
	.12		2.36		2.86		.11		2.63		2.75		.24		2.42		2.83	
Loving	-.18		7	5	4.92	2	-.16		5.50	3	4.87	2	-.10		5.25	2	5.10	3
	.12		1.56		1.67		-.21		1.76		1.50		-.07		1.61		1.65	
Obedient	.00		17	18	16.67	18	-.19		17.06	18	15.56	18	-.14		17.35	18	16	17.5
	-.05		3.40		3.16		-.28		3.47		3		-.27		3.46		3.12	
Polite	.22		12.50	16	13.06	15	.04		13.17	16	12.86	14	-.15		13.37	16	12.67	14.5
	.19		2.40		2.65		-.09		2.63		2.50		-.16		2.54		2.58	
Responsible	.02		5.10	2	5	3	.07		5.10	2	5	3	-.18		7.20	6	4.36	2
	.21		1.64		1.98		.10		1.82		1.92		.05		1.81		1.90	
Self-Controlled	.03		12.10	15	12.80	14	-.08		12.33	15	12.60	13	-.01		12.33	13.5	12.50	13
	.20		2.24		2.63		-.07		2.50		2.50		.15		2.27		2.62	

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Spearman Rank: N=63 p.01 .33 p.05 .25  
N=75 p.01 .30 p.05 .22  
Pearson Product Moment: N=74 p.01 .29 p.05 .22

a. Correlations reported here are for Spearman Rank correlation coefficient for the values scored by ranking (top value reported), and for Pearson Product Moment correlation coefficient for the values scored on a 5-point scale (second value reported) - in the British sample only. Underlined values indicate a level of significance of .05 or above.

Median and composite ranking are reported for the value rankings, and mean for the values rated on a 5-point scale for degree of desirability. Composite ranking is the ranking that the median of a value gets in the total sample - in this case in each subgroup.  
The values of the desirability scores stand for the following categories:  
1 = absolutely necessary, 2 = necessary, 3 = neutral, 4 = unnecessary, 5 = undesirable.

From the results reported in Table 24 the suggested relationship of 'equality' and 'freedom' to the three factors of activism can be examined. Both 'equality' and 'freedom' are ranked near the top (at least amongst the first 6 values) in the Greek sample. 'Freedom' follows the same pattern in the British sample but not 'equality' which is ranked amongst the middle 6 values in all other groups except for the protesters who put it on the top.

Both values follow the pattern suggested in section I, Chapter 4. 'Equality' is always over 'freedom' in the Greek sample, while this happens only amongst the protesters in the British sample.

From the rest of the values it can be seen that only some have statistically significant correlations with any one of the three factors. These will be discussed now, while the rest, i.e. those with insignificant correlations, are only shown in the Table for reference purposes. More specifically now, the following relationships can be derived from the table, taking each culture and each factor at a time.

In the Greek sample 'Interest' does not have any significant correlation with any of the values. 'Protest' has significant correlations of a positive nature with 'a

sense of accomplishment', 'equality', 'pleasure', 'broad-minded', and 'courageous', and of a negative nature with 'family security', 'national security', 'salvation', and 'polite'. From these values Rokeach (1971) discusses 'national security' and 'polite'. He says that Republicans were the most concerned with national security and Democrats the least. 'Polite' was also a low value for young, middle-class Democrats. Here protesters who are the least conservative group have a low regard for these values.

In general it can be said that protesters have less traditional values than non-protesters, which agrees with the picture of the 'activist' drawn from the literature.

'Commitment' has significant correlations of a positive nature with 'capable', 'clean', and 'self-controlled', and of a negative nature with 'cheerful', and 'forgiving'. Block, Haan and Smith (1974) report that those active in their sample emphasized the value of self-control less than a randomly selected sample. Here this greater emphasis on self-control and less regard for cheerfulness agrees very much with the image of the committed-gained by the items that characterized this factor of activism in the factor analysis of political activity - which was one of seriousness and single-mindedness of purpose.

'Capable' is a value that would theoretically suit a politically committed person while 'forgiving', being a religious value, would not. 'Clean' on the other hand, which is a rather low value for the total sample, cannot be said to have any obvious reason to relate to commitment in the way it does.

In the British sample 'Commitment' has significant correlations of a positive nature with 'a world of beauty' and of a negative nature with 'happiness', 'pleasure' - (only the desirability score) - and 'cheerful'. Flacks (1970a) also speaks of the aesthetic pursuits of activists which agrees with their greater emphasis on 'a world of beauty'. The two other values are of an individualistic nature and one would not expect to find them amongst the politically committed who would ideally rank social and humanitarian values higher, as it seems to happen in most cases.

'Interest' has significant correlations of a positive nature with 'freedom' - (only the desirability score) -, 'social recognition', and 'courageous', and of a negative nature with 'family security' and 'obedient' - (only the desirability scores) -, and 'self-respect'. About 'obedient' Rokeach (1971) says that in general it is not regarded highly by the middle-class young Democrats, in contrast to the rest of the Democrats who rank it high.

'Freedom' and 'courageous' are politically related values while 'family security' and 'obedient' are not, and would not expect them to characterize the politically interested, as it happens. But the same cannot be said about 'social recognition' and 'self-respect'. Their relationship to 'interest' is regarded as a matter of fact in the present data.

'Protest' has significant correlations of a positive nature with 'a world at peace' and 'logical' - (only with their desirability scores) -, 'equality', 'courageous' and 'helpful', and of a negative nature with 'inner harmony', 'national security', and 'salvation'. The positive relationship of 'logical' with protest agrees with Smith's (1969) findings about activists placing higher value on intellectual qualities. Also the relationship of 'logical' agrees with Keniston's (1967) thesis that activists are motivated by humanitarian values in their protest. 'A world at peace', 'equality' and 'courageous' are values with political connotations and their positive relationship to protest is not surprising. The same holds true for "national security" and "salvation" which are conservative values and should therefore relate negatively to protest. Finally "inner harmony" is accepted without any further comments.

From the above discussion of the relationship of values to activism certain values emerge as being cross-

culturally able to differentiate amongst the politically-minded of various types and the non-political. These values are the following: "equality", "family security", "national security", "pleasure", "salvation", "cheerful", and "courageous".

In both samples "equality" and "courageous" are higher for the politically-minded groups, i.e. the protesters in the Greek sample and the interested and the protesters in the British sample. The values "family security", "national security", "salvation", and "cheerful" are lower for the politically-minded groups, i.e. the protesters and the committed in the Greek sample, and the interested, the protesters, and the committed in the British sample.

Finally, "pleasure" is the only value that shows a reverse relationship in the two samples. Although it is low for the Greek sample in general, it is higher for the protesters than for the rest of the sample. In the British sample it is a neutral value for the committed, and a more important value for the rest of the sample. Since commitment is the general factor of activism in the British data, this difference between the samples, however small, is of some significance. It means that amongst the Greeks those most involved with politics value an enjoyable life - this is

how "pleasure" is defined - more than the others, while amongst the British those uninvolved with politics value it the most. Could this reflect an attitude of 'get involved for a better life' in the first case, and 'stay out of it to enjoy your life' in the second? Given the different socio-political contexts such a difference in attitudes would not seem unreasonable.



## CHAPTER 7 :

### F O O T N O T E S

1. See Appendix D for the correlation matrix for both the Greek and the British samples.
2. Locus of Control data were also analyzed since this variable was measured by a standard instrument, i.e. the I-E Scale by Rotter. The data were factor analyzed because on the basis of the review of the literature it was expected that more than one dimension of locus of control would be needed for the adequate measurement of this variable. However, the analysis of the data did not justify the use of more than one factor of I-E. The factor analysis of the I-E scale is discussed in Appendix C.
3. See Appendix F for the correlation matrix of both variables.
4. See Appendix E for the frequency distribution of all the items of the F scale.
5. See Appendix F for the correlation matrix.
6. For the actual content of these scales and the factors on which they usually load, consult the relevant detachable table at the end of the thesis (back pocket). This table should also be used for the interpretation of the Semantic Differential Scales which are here referred to as 'numbers 1,2, etc.'.
7. It seems that this is not unusual in the Greek context. Osgood, May and Miron (1975) report that the Potency and Activity factors often fuse into a common factor of 'dynamism' for Greeks.
8. See Appendix F for the correlation matrix.
9. Although the difference between the median scores of the protesters and the non-protesters is minimal, there is a consistent rating of "salvation" as one of the lowest values by the protesters, (their ratings range from 16-18), while non-protesters usually rate it as one of the lowest values. However there are exceptions and some non-protesters rate it as a significant value. See Appendix E for the scores in detail.

- . 10. Although the difference between the median scores of the interested and the uninterested is minimal, there is a consistent rating of "social recognition" as a low value by the most interested and a rating of it as a high value by the least interested. Analytically the scores can be found in Appendix E.

CHAPTER 8

THE REGRESSION ANALYSIS

## CHAPTER 8 :

### T H E R E G R E S S I O N A N A L Y S I S

The statistical analysis of the data presented so far has dealt, (a) with the establishment of the complexity of the phenomenon of political activity, and (b) with the transformation of some of the data before entering into the analysis of the relationship of political activity to psychological variables. The second step in the statistical analysis of the data is to find out how the socio-psychological variables measured here can help one describe each one of the aspects of political behaviour, as these have been defined in the first step of the analysis. The questions to be answered are: How do the independent variables explain political participation? Or in other words what is the overall dependence of interest, protest, and commitment, taken one at a time, on the variables examined? What is the relationship of each factor with all of the variables together and each one separately? How do these variables help one distinguish the little interested from the very interested, or the protester from the non-protester, and the committed from the uncommitted? Which variables are important in examining each one of the factors in itself?

The statistical method selected for analyzing the data with the above questions in focus was a multiple regression analysis<sup>1</sup>. This technique is used in its descriptive nature i.e. "... to find the best linear prediction equation and evaluate its prediction accuracy;" (p.321 SPSS).

The regression analysis provides the following information:

a) the value of the linear relationship of all the independent variables with the dependent variable; b) the percentage of variation explained in the dependent variable by all the independent variables operating jointly ( $R^2$ ); c) the average error caused in predicting the dependent variable by the specific combination of the independent variables (standard error); d) the statistical significance of the linear relationship of the dependent and the independent variables (F); e) the amount of change in the dependent variable with unit changes in the independent variable (B or unstandardized regression coefficient), the significance of the change (F) and the standard error of this (st.err.B); f) B expressed in standard deviation units (Beta or standardized regression coefficient); and finally g) the constant or the Y intercept, which together with B define the regression line.

The information provided by the regression analysis is going to be used in order a) to find out the use of the examined independent variables in explaining each one of the factors of political activity, and b) to check whether the expectations set out in Chapter 4I, as to what the relationship of the independent variables to each one of the factors would be like, find any justification in the present data.

At the end of this analysis it will be possible to say whether the independent variables can help one distinguish and to what extent the politically interested from the uninterested, the political protester from the non-protester, and the politically committed from the uncommitted.

The analysis of the relationship of political activity to the socio-psychological variables measured here, has been done separately for each culture and for each factor of political activism. The results will now be presented separately and their integration will be attempted at the end.

#### A. THE GREEK CASE.

Three separate analyses were done for the Greek data, one for each factor of political activity.

The independent variables remained the same in all cases and these were, in order of their input into the program, the following: age, political perception (four items), class attendance, activity index, authoritarianism, radicalism, externality, family evaluation, family dynamism, father evaluation, self evaluation, mother evaluation, father-self similarity, mother-self similarity, evaluation of political participation and dynamism of political participation. The variables gender, type of study, father's occupation, and the value rankings were not considered because of the interval level of measurement required by a regression analysis.

#### 1. Political Interest

Interest in politics was the first factor of political activity in the Greek sample. So, this was the dependent variable in the first regression analysis of political activity and socio-psychological variables.

The value of the multiple regression is .63, this means that all of the independent variables explain 40% of the variation in political interest. The standard error is .92 and an analysis of variance with 19 and 47 degrees of freedom provides a F of 1.63 significant at the .10 level of confidence. Table 25

presents the results of the regression analysis<sup>2</sup>.

TABLE 25 : Regression analysis of Interest in the Greek sample

Variables	B	Beta	St.er.B	F
Age		-.15	.12	1.54
Political perception(1)	.46	.27	.25	3.43
" " (2)	.05	.11	.09	.41
" " (3)	-.02	-.05	.07	.13
" " (4)	.003	.01	.06	.00
Class attendance	-.38	-.29	.20	3.47
General activities	.10	.23	.07	2.09
Authoritarianism	-.01	-.46	.01	5.42
Radicalism	-.03	-.48	.01	6.03
Externality	-.05	-.18	.03	1.89
Family-evaluation	.01	.04	.04	.05
Family-dynamism	-.02	-.08	.03	.24
* Father-evaluation	-.10	-.30	.07	2.11
* Self-evaluation	-.05	-.08	.07	.38
* Mother-evaluation	.10	.27	.08	1.71
Self-father difference	.06	.16	.08	.58
Self-mother "	.02	.05	.08	.06
Evaluation of pol.part.	.05	.20	.03	2.50
Dynamism " " "	-.002	-.01	.03	.00
(Constant -.45)				
df. 1/47	p.05 4.04	p.01 7.19		

\* These variables are measured in terms of differences. Therefore a negative relationship with the value of these variables should be read as a positive relationship with the content of the variable, and vice versa.

Two variables bear statistically significant



changes on Interest and these are Authoritarianism and Radicalism. Their effect on Interest is negative. The higher the authoritarianism the lower the political interest and similarly the more the radicalism the less the interest. Their standardized effects<sup>3</sup> are similar, just below half standard deviation.

Authoritarianism and Radicalism are not amongst the variables for which expectations have been formulated. For those that they were formulated it can be seen that Externality has indeed a negative effect on Interest, family-evaluation a positive, general activities a positive, evaluation of political participation a positive, and the first two items of political perception a positive effect. However mother-evaluation and dynamism of political participation have negative effects, contrary to what was expected.

The first indicates that positive mother evaluation is not associated with political interest but with lack of interest, placing thus political interest on the same level with the other forms of political involvement for which independence was the primary expected correlate. Of course the relationship of mother-evaluation to Interest is not statistically significant, but it is only the direction of the results which is discussed here in relation to the expec-

tations.

The second can be partly explained by the fact that the expectations stated consider a single aspect of evaluating political participation. But after the factor analysis of the relevant data two scores were used, one referring to purely evaluative aspects (good-bad), and one referring to power and activity aspects (potent-weak, etc.). Thus it is interesting to note here that evaluation increases with Interest, while dynamism decreases. For the more Interested political participation is good but weak.

As a result of this analysis it can be said that the Interested are significantly less authoritarian and more conservative than the Uninterested. While the independent variables examined account for a limited amount of variation in political Interest.

## 2. Political Protest

The value of the multiple regression of the independent variables on the factor of Protest is .84, which means that the examined variables account for 71% of the variation in political protest-behaviour. The standard error is .64 and the analysis of variance with df.19 and 47 results in a F of 6.03, significant at the .001 Level of confidence. Table 26 presents

the results of the regression analysis.

TABLE 26 : Regression analysis of Protest in the Greek sample

Variables	B	Beta	St.er.B	F
Age	-.05	-.06	.08	.42
Political perception(1)	.34	.20	.17	3.88
" " (2)	-.02	-.05	.06	.14
" " (3)	-.03	-.06	.05	.40
" " (4)	-.05	-.11	.04	1.37
Class attendance	.02	.02	.14	.03
General activities	-.06	-.13	.05	1.37
Authoritarianism	-.01	-.18	.00	1.70
Radicalism	.02	.34	.01	6.20
Externality	-.02	-.08	.02	.75
Family-evaluation	-.01	-.04	.03	.11
Family-dynamism	-.00	-.002	.02	.00
* Father-evaluation	.08	.24	.05	2.73
* Self-evaluation	-.02	-.04	.05	.17
* Mother-evaluation	-.07	-.18	.05	1.71
Self-father difference	-.08	-.20	.05	1.90
Self-mother "	.01	.04	.06	.08
Evaluation of pol.part.	.04	.14	.02	2.47
Dynamism " " "	.06	.26	.02	6.53
(Constant - 3.37)				
d.f. 1/47 p.05 4.04 p.01 7.19				

Two variables bear statistically significant effects on Protest and these are Radicalism and per-

ceived dynamism of political participation. Their effect on Protest is positive. The more the protest behaviour the more the radicalism and the higher the perceived power and activity of political action. Their standardized effects are below half standard deviation.

For both of these variables expectations as to their relationship to Protest existed and they were in the correct direction. From the rest of the variables for which expectations were formulated it can be seen that for externality and authoritarianism the expected negative relationship was justified. So was with the positive relationship of the evaluation of political participation. But the expected negative effect of class attendance on Protest was not carried through. Students high on protest behaviour were not regular class absentees, to the contrary the relationship of the two variables was positive, although small.

As a result of this analysis it can be said that the Protesters are significantly more radical and sure of the strength of the political action than the Non-protesters. The examined independent variables account for the greater part of the phenomenon of political Protest, as defined here.

### 3. Political Commitment

The value of the multiple regression of the independent variables on the factor of Commitment is .63, which means that the examined independent variables account for 40% of the variance of political Commitment. The standard error is .92, and the analysis of variance with d.f. 19 and 47 results in a F of 1.67, significant at the .10 level of confidence. Table 27 presents the results of the regression analysis.

TABLE 27 : Regression analysis of Commitment in the Greek sample

Variables	B	Beta	St.er.B	F
Age	.07	.07	.12	.35
Political perception (1)	.56	.33	.25	5.06
" " (2)	.03	.06	.08	.13
" " (3)	-.09	-.18	.07	1.72
" " (4)	-.02	-.05	.06	.11
Class attendance	-.14	-.11	.20	.51
General activities	.06	.13	.17	.72
Authoritarianism	.00	.10	.01	.27
Radicalism	-.01	-.10	.01	.27
Externality	-.02	-.10	.03	.56
Family-evaluation	.05	.25	.04	1.89
Family-dynamism	-.06	-.33	.03	3.54
* Father-evaluation	.18	.55	.07	7.22
* Self-evaluation	.18	.34	.07	6.04
* Mother-evaluation	-.13	-.35	.08	3.07
Self-father difference	-.24	-.64	.08	9.32

(contd.)

Variables	B	Beta	St.er.B	F
Self-mother difference	.12	.31	.08	2.17
Evaluation of pol.part.	.02	.09	.03	.48
Dynamism " " "	.01	.05	.03	.12
(Constant -4.02)				
d.f. 1/47	p.05	4.04	p.01	7.19

Four variables bear statistically significant effects on Commitment and these are the perception of politics (item 1) - referring to the all-pervasive nature of politics -, father-evaluation, self-evaluation, and self-father similarity<sup>4</sup>. Their effect on Commitment is as follows: The more committed express a stronger belief in the importance of politics, a less positive attitude towards themselves and their fathers, and more similarities between themselves and their fathers. Their standardized effects show that self-father similarity and father-evaluation are the most important. These two were also amongst the variables for which expectations were formulated, but not in this direction. Self-father similarity is positively related to Commitment, according to expectation. But father-evaluation is negatively related, contrary to what expected. Why should the Committed see themselves as similar to father and then say that their father is far from the ideal father? One is wondering immediately about their self-concept, which is also negatively related to Commitment, as it should be on the basis of the above findings. From the present data one cannot explain why the Committed appear contradictory. All that can be said is that the present results indicate

a conflictual attitude towards father to be associated with Commitment. The particular conflict takes the form of admitting "I am very much like my father, but my father is not good enough as a father, nor am I as I would like to be".

For the other two variables no expectation was made. Self-evaluation was discussed above, while a belief in the importance of politics is consonant with political commitment.

From the rest of the variables present in the list of expectations it can be seen that the stated expectations find justification in the negative relationship of externality, of self-mother similarity, of class attendance, and of the last two items of political perception. These two items refer to the limitations of the power of a new government to alter things, and to the influence of psychological factors on political ideologies. Support is also given to the expected positive relationship - albeit very small - of the dynamism of political perception.

The expectations of a negative relationship of level of general activities and of a positive relationship of evaluation of political participation are not

supported. High level of extra curricular activities characterize the Committed. This, of course, is not new in the literature. As mentioned in the relevant section both types of data exist for different samples. Here on a priori grounds a negative relationship was judged to be theoretically more justifiable. However the present results point to the opposite direction.

Finally the negative relationship of the evaluative aspect of political participation cannot be seen otherwise than as a sign of cynicism or disappointment from the part of the more politically committed.

As a result of this analysis it can be said that the Committed are significantly in better terms with themselves and their fathers and believe in the importance of politics. The examined independent variables account for less than half the variation in political Commitment.

#### B. THE BRITISH SAMPLE

Three separate analyses - one for each factor of political activity - were carried out. The independent variables were the same for all three and they were also the same with those used in the analysis of the Greek data. Thus, the independent variables in order of their



input into the analysis, were the following: age, political perception (four items), class attendance, activity index, authoritarianism, radicalism, externality, family evaluation, family dynamism, father evaluation, self evaluation, mother evaluation, father-self similarity, mother-self similarity, evaluation and dynamism of political participation. The variables gender, type of study, father's occupation, club membership, and the value rankings were not considered because of the interval level of measurement required by a regression analysis.

#### 1. Political Commitment

Commitment to politics was the general factor of political activity in the British data. Thus, it was the first dependent variable in the regression analysis of the relationship of political activity and other socio-psychological variables.

The value of the multiple regression is .64, this means that 41% of the variation in political commitment is accounted for by the present independent variables. The standard error is .89, and an analysis of variance with 19 and 56 d.f. provides a F of 2.02 significant at the .05 level of confidence. Table 28 presents the results of the regression analysis.

· TABLE 28 : Regression analysis of Commitment, in the British sample

Variables	B	Beta	St.er.B	F
Age	.17	.22	.10	3.09
Political perception (1)	-.05	-.07	.09	.35
" " (2)	-.08	-.14	.06	1.49
" " (3)	-.01	-.01	.08	.01
" " (4)	-.13	-.23	.07	3.84
Class attendance	.35	.11	.39	.78
General activities	-.15	-.24	.08	3.70
Authoritarianism	-.01	-.17	.01	1.31
Radicalism	.00	.01	.01	.00
Externality	-.04	-.17	.03	1.85
Family-evaluation	.09	.29	.05	3.15
Family-dynamism	.02	.06	.03	.27
* Father-evaluation	.02	.05	.08	.07
* Self-evaluation	.15	.25	.09	3.10
* Mother-evaluation	.04	.08	.07	.23
Self-father difference	.05	.11	.08	.43
Self-mother "	-.17	-.37	.08	5.09
Evaluation of pol.part.	.01	.02	.05	.02
Dynamism " " "	.06	.44	.01	14.91
(Constant -1.2)				
d.f. 1/56    p.05    4.02    p.01    7.12				

Two variables bear statistically significant changes on Commitment, and these are Self-mother similarity and perceived dynamism of political participation. Their effects are positive. The higher the perceived similarity to mother and the higher the belief in the

dynamism of the political action, the higher the political commitment. Their standardized effects are well below half standard deviation in the first case and almost half standard deviation in the second case. Thus perceived dynamism of political participation is the most important independent variable for Commitment.

These two variables are amongst those for which expectations were formulated. As far as perceived dynamism is concerned the results conform to the expectations. But as far as self-mother similarity is concerned the results are exactly in the opposite direction than that expected. Thus the hypothesis about the low self-mother similarity signifying independence and adulthood, both necessary for serious political commitment does not find any support in the British data. It is however weakly supported by the Greek data. The explanation that may be offered here is that small self-mother reported differences do not necessarily imply independence. For instance, they might be a sign of lack of conflictual relations with mother, or anything else with known connections to political commitment. The fact remains that perceived self-mother similarity is associated with political Commitment in the British sample.

The rest of the expectations, as can be seen,

were in the correct direction. There is a negative relationship of externality, level of extracurricular activities, and items 3 and 4 of political perception, with Commitment. There is finally a positive relationship of evaluation of political participation with Commitment. Thus the more Committed are also more internal in their locus of control, engage in less general activities, believe in the absolute power of a new government to alter things, while they do not believe in the influence of psychological factors on political ideologies, and finally they believe that political participation is both good, powerful and active.

As a result of this analysis it can be said that the Committed have a particularly strong belief in the potency and activity of political participation and report more similarities between themselves and their mothers, than the Uncommitted. The examined independent variables account for a little less than half the variation in political Commitment.

## 2. Political Interest

The value of the multiple regression of the independent variables on the factor of Interest is .72, which means that the examined independent variables account for 52% of the variance of political Interest.

The standard error is .80, and the analysis of variance with d.f. 19 and 56 results in a F of 3.21 significant at the .001 level of confidence. Table 29 presents the results of the regression analysis.

TABLE 29 : Regression analysis of Interest, in the British sample

Variables	B	Beta	St.err.B	F
Age	.02	.03	.09	.79
Political perception (1)	.44	.58	.82	28.79
" " (2)	.04	.07	.06	.41
" " (3)	.01	.02	.07	.04
" " (4)	-.00	-.01	.06	.01
Class attendance	-.02	-.01	.35	.00
General activities	.01	.02	.07	.04
Authoritarianism	-.01	-.21	.01	2.33
Radicalism	-.15	-.28	.01	4.26
Externality	-.06	-.23	.03	4.01
Family-evaluation	.00	.002	.04	.00
Family-dynamism	-.02	-.08	.03	.61
* Father-evaluation	.03	.07	.07	.20
* Self-evaluation	.06	.10	.08	.59
* Mother-evaluation	.03	.07	.07	.24
Self-father difference	-.15	-.31	.07	4.20
Self-mother "	-.00	-.01	.07	.00
Evaluation of pol.part.	.01	.04	.04	.11
Dynamism " " "	.03	.21	.01	4.25
(Constant -.74)				
d.f. 1/56 p.05 4.02 p.01 7.12				

Four variables bear statistically significant changes on Interest. These are political perception (item 1) which refers to the importance of politics, Radicalism, Self-father similarity, and perceived dynamism of political participation. The effects of the first and the last are positive and of the two other variables negative. In other words the more Interested have a greater belief to the importance of politics and the potency of the political action, while they are less Radical and they report fewer differences between themselves and their fathers. According to their standardized effects political perception (item 1), referring to the all-pervading nature of politics, is the most important correlate of Interest, since it affects by more than half standard deviation the values of this variable. The rest of the variables affect Interest scores by 1/4 of a standard deviation, approximately.

From these four variables only two were included in the list of expectations: political perception (item 1) and perceived dynamism of political participation which were both associated with Interest in the correct direction. The rest of the variables were for the most part associated in the expected direction: internality, family-evaluation, level of general activities, evaluation of political participation and items 1 and 2 of political perception, all increase with increased Interest. Only

mother-evaluation was in the opposite direction and decreased with Interest, as was the case in the Greek analysis of Interest.

As a result of this analysis it can be said that the Interested have a particularly strong belief in the all-pervasive nature of politics, they are more radical ideologically, they report similarities with their fathers, and they believe that political participation is 'potent and active', when compared to the Uninterested. The examined independent variables account for a little more than half of the variation in political Interest.

### 3. Political Protest

The value of the multiple regression is .79, which means that the examined independent variables account for 62% of the variance of political Protest. The standard error is .71, and the analysis of variance with d.f. 19 and 56 yields a F of 4.92 significant at the .001 level of confidence. Table 30 presents the results of the regression analysis.

TABLE 30 : Regression analysis of Protest, in the British sample

Variables	B	Beta	St.er.B	F
Age	.02	.03	.08	.10
Political perception (1)	.04	.05	.07	.27

(contd.)

Variables	B	Beta	St.er.B	F
Political perception (2)	.03	.05	.05	.35
" " (3)	-.08	-.13	.06	1.56
" " (4)	.06	.10	.05	1.19
Class attendance	-.11	-.03	.31	.12
General activities	.09	.14	.06	2.10
Authoritarianism	-.01	-.20	.00	2.72
Radicalism	.02	.46	.01	14.43
Externality	-.01	-.03	.03	.08
Family-evaluation	.02	.06	.04	.22
Family-dynamism	.00	.02	.03	.03
* Father-evaluation	.01	.02	.06	.03
* Self-evaluation	-.15	-.25	.07	4.78
* Mother-evaluation	.03	.07	.06	.33
Self-father difference	.05	.11	.06	.72
Self-mother "	.05	.11	.06	.69
Evaluation of pol.part.	.00	.01	.04	.00
Dynamism " " "	.01	.05	.01	.35
(Constant -2.36)				
d.f. 1/56 p.05 4.02 p.01 7.12				

Two variables bear statistically significant changes on Protest. These are political ideology and self-evaluation.

The higher the protesting behaviour the higher the ideological radicalism and the higher the congruence between actual and ideal self. The first was expected, but no expectation was formulated for the second. In the literature the findings are mostly congruent with the present evidence, (see the relevant section in Chapter 4).



From the rest of the variables for which expectations were included the following were in the correct direction: Authoritarianism had a negative effect on Protest, while the perception of political participation was positive both in evaluation and dynamism terms. Only externality was formulated in the opposite direction. Externality does not characterize the British protesters to the contrary its relationship - however small - is in the negative direction.

As a result of this analysis it can be said that the Protesters are more radical and more satisfied by themselves than the non-Protesters. The examined independent variables account for significantly over half the variation in political Protest.

### C. CONCLUSION

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter the results of the regression analysis were going to be used for two purposes: a) to find out which variables are useful in explaining each one of the factors of political activism; and b) to find out the extent to which the expectations, set out prior to the analysis of the data, were justified.

These two points have been answered in detail

in this chapter. Here two summary tables have been prepared for an easier overall checking of these two points and some cross-cultural points are made.

TABLE 31 : Comparative table of the results of the regression analysis and the expectations

VARIABLES <sup>a</sup>	INTEREST		PROTEST		COMMITMENT	
	GREEK	BRITISH	GREEK	BRITISH	GREEK	BRITISH
Externality	-v	-v	-v	-/	-v	-v
Radicalism	-..!	-..!	+v!	+v!		
Authoritarianism	-..!		-v	-v		
Self-Mother similarity					-v	+/.!
Self-Father "		+..!			+v!	
Father-evaluation					-/.!	
Mother-evaluation	-/	-/				
Family-evaluation	+v	+v				
Self-evaluation				+..!	-..!	
General activities	+v	+v			+/	-v
Class attendance			+/		-v	
Politics-Evaluation	+v	+v	+v	+v	-/	+v
" -Dynamism	-/	+v!	+v!	+v	+v	+v!
" -Perception (1)	+v	+v!			+..!	
" " (2)	+v	+v				
" " (3)					-v	-v
" " (4)					-v	-v

#### Symbols

+ positive relationship

- negative "

v according to expectation

/ contrary " "

. variable not included in the expectations

! statistically significant relationship

<sup>a</sup> Values are not listed because they were not included in the regression analysis.

TABLE 32 : Summary table of the statistically significant results of the regression analysis

VARIABLES	INTEREST		PROTEST		COMMITMENT	
	GREEK	BRITISH	GREEK	BRITISH	GREEK	BRITISH
	40%	52%	71%	62%	40%	41%
Radicalism	-	-	+	+		
Authoritarianism	-					
Self-mother similarity						+
Self-father similarity		-			+	
Father-evaluation					-	
Self-evaluation				-	-	
Dynamism of pol.part.		+	+			+
Political perception(1)		+			+	

Symbols:    % percent of variance explained by all independent variables  
              + positive relationship  
              - negative                   "

It is interesting to note in the above table that only radicalism seems to work similarly in the two samples for both Interest and Protest. This is of course indicative of the different structure that political involvement has in the two countries. In general terms and paying attention to the type of variables that are important for each factor it can be seen that Interest in the Greek sample is a well balanced factor in the sense that variables of both political and psychological nature account for it<sup>5</sup>. The same holds true for Protest in the British sample. Interest is largely politically

. determined in the British sample and Protest in the Greek sample. Finally Commitment is well balanced in the British sample, and largely psychologically determined in the Greek sample.

As a result it could be said that political interest is the expression of both rationality and psychological involvement in politics in the Greek case, while political protest and commitment play this role in the British case. The different role that Protest and Commitment play in the two cultures might be due to the preponderance of radical activity in the Greek context which by becoming easy and common did not need to involve deeper motivational sources, or if it did these were not easily accessible by questionnaire items. Commitment on the other hand was so difficult, because of its serious consequences, that purely political ideas were not enough to motivate it. Good father - and self-relationships have the lead amongst the variables that explain it.

As a result it can be said that more normal political conditions - i.e. in Britain - produce more balanced sources of motivation for any type of political involvement.

## CHAPTER 8 :

### FOOTNOTES

1. It should be mentioned here that at first an analysis using the Automatic Interaction Detector (AID) had been considered. However this was finally dropped in favour to a regression analysis because of the impossibility of checking the statistical validity of the results obtained by the AID.
2. For the means, standard deviations and correlation matrices of all variables used in all of the regressions see Appendix F.
3. The standardized regression coefficients (Beta) are best for comparing the various independent variables for their effects on the dependent variable because betas are in standard deviation units, while B's are in raw score units which differ from variable to variable.
4. It will be noted here that in the list of variables self-father similarity is reported as self-father difference (the same for "mother"). This is due to the nature of the score reported which stands for the measured distance between the two profiles. That is similarity is measured in a reverse manner and the higher the distance the less the similarity. To avoid confusion with negative signs the term "self-father"distance is used in the presentation of the results.
5. As psychological variables are considered the following: authoritarianism, self-mother similarity, self-father similarity, father-evaluation and self-evaluation.  
  
As political variables are considered the following: radicalism, dynamism of political participation, and political perception (item 1).

CHAPTER 9 :

THE DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS

## CHAPTER 9 :

### THE DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS

Up to now two steps of the statistical analysis of the data have been completed. The first step was to establish the validity of the theoretical classification of political behaviour. The second was to find out which of the psychological variables measured could best discriminate between students having a high versus a low score in each one of the three factors of political activity. In other words, which variables achieved the best discrimination within each one factor of activism. The third and final step is to find out how the variables can best be combined so as to differentiate amongst the three factors of political activity. That is, granted that the three factors can now be combined to produce various types rather than degrees of political activity, can the psychological variables help one distinguish between these various types of political activity? How can this be best achieved, i.e. with the minimum number of variables and the greater percentage of success?

The above questions led to a discriminant analysis of the data. The purpose of discriminant analysis is to distinguish statistically between various groups defined according to a specific criterion. The distinction is achieved by the combination of various

quantifiable characteristics of these groups into a new variable, the discriminant function. The discriminant function is created in such a way as to maximize the differences between the various groups. It is the 'best' line representing the combined predictive power of a set of measures<sup>1</sup>.

The first task, before analyzing the data in this way, was to define the groups that were to be distinguished. The students participating in the study had up to now been treated as separate cases on the basis of their factor scores on each one of the three factors of political activity. Now the three factor scores had to be combined into one score and thus define different groups of people. With three factors and two categories, of high-low scores<sup>2</sup> for each one of them, the following eight combinations were possible (see Table 33).

TABLE 33 : The eight possible discriminant groups

	Greek	British
1. A1B1C1	N = 7	N = 19
2. A1B1C2	N = 4	N = 8
3. A1B2C1	N = 6	N = 13
4. A1B2C2	N = 10	N = 9
5. A2B1C1	N = 10	N = 3
6. A2B1C2	N = 4	N = 6
7. A2B2C1	N = 11	N = 13
8. A2B2C2	N = 15	N = 3

(contd.)



For the Greek data: A = Interest, B = Protest, C = Commitment

For the British data: A = Commitment, B = Interest, C = Protest

1 = below the mean

2 = at or above the mean

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But a discriminant analysis with eight small groups, some of them with only subtle differences to discriminate them from the others, seemed of little value and too complicated to handle. Thus having in mind that the main purpose of this analysis was to distinguish one factor from another, through the independent variables, the following three discriminant analyses were done for each one of the samples: Interest versus Protest, Interest versus Commitment, and Commitment versus Protest. This was achieved by studying each time only those groups where the concerned groups scored in a reverse manner i.e. high in the first factor and low in the second on the one hand, and low in the first factor and high in the second. Thus they were combined into two categories, irrespectively of their scores on the third factor, which of course managed to balance and thus cancel each other out<sup>3</sup>. Analytically the way in which these groups were formed is described below, where the results of these analyses are also presented.

## A. THE GREEK CASE

### 1. Interest versus Protest

As can be seen from Table 33 the groups high on Interest were the 5,6,7 and 8. Those high on Protest were the 3,4,7 and 8. Since 7 and 8 were common to both they were eliminated and a discriminant analysis was performed for groups 5,6 on the one hand and 3,4 on the other<sup>4</sup>. The method of analysis was step-wise, i.e. all of the variables were introduced simultaneously at first, but only those which could significantly differentiate between the groups were further examined and incorporated in a single discriminant function. This was done because a great number of insignificant variables does not add anything to the analysis. On the contrary it usually obscures the results. Table 34 presents the statistics provided from the first step of the analysis. It can be seen that all of the independent variables were included with the exception of the value profiles<sup>5</sup>. These were left out because of the binary nature of their scores and the great increase in the number of independent variables they would cause, since each one of the 36 values would have to be treated as a new variable.

TABLE 34 : Wilks' Lambda and univariate F-ratio of the independent variables discriminating between Interest and Protest, in the Greek data

Variable	Wilks' Lambda	F
Gender	.98	.59

(contd.)

Variable	Wilks' Lambda	F
Age	.99	.35
Type of study	.99	.41
Father's occupation	.93	2.16
Political perception (1)	.85	5.11
" " (2)	.91	2.81
" " (3)	.96	1.08
" " (4)	.97	.93
Class attendance	.97	.85
General activities	.95	1.52
Authoritarianism	.94	1.64
Radicalism	.75	9.06
Externality	1.00	.04
Family-evaluation	.99	.31
Family-dynamism	.98	.67
Father-evaluation	.90	3.02
Self-evaluation	.99	.20
Mother-evaluation	1.00	.01
Self-father difference	1.00	.08
Self-mother "	.99	.35
Evaluation of pol.participation	1.00	.10
Dynamism of pol.participation	.82	5.97
d.f. 1/28      p.05 4.20      p.01 7.64		

From the above table it can be seen that the variables which discriminate significantly are: item 1 of political perception referring to the importance of politics, radicalism, and a positive regard for the potency of political participation. These three enter the second step of the discriminant analysis to produce a single function of discrimination.

With two groups only one function can be derived. Table 35 shows the group means (group centroids) on the discriminant function and the discriminant function coefficients for the three independent variables.

TABLE 35 : Group centroids of the discriminant function and standardized discriminant function coefficients, for the Greek sample

Groups	Function	Variables	Function
interested protesters	.66 -.57	Pol.perception(1)	-.26
		Radicalism	-.58
		Dynamism of pol.part.	-.57

On the basis of these results it can be said that in the Greek sample a protester is distinguished from the interested on the basis of his radicalism, and positive regard for the importance of politics and political participation. According to the expectations of the associations of these factors both radicalism and positive regard for political participation were suggested as being important for Protest. Belief in the importance of politics, however, was expected to be a distinctive characteristic of Interest. This is not the case. Although this variable is positively related to Interest - as seen in the regression analysis - it is above all distinguishing Protest.

The functions that result from a discriminant

analysis are theoretically to be used in order to predict membership at the dependent variable of people whose scores on the independent variables are known. As a testing of the accuracy of the predictive power of these functions the function coefficients can be used to predict membership in the sample from which they were drawn - as though this was not known - and then compare the prediction results of the functions with the actual data. This type of statistical process yielded for the present function 80% of cases correctly classified. Misclassifications occurred for both groups but the achieved percentage of cases correctly classified is quite satisfactory.

## 2. Interest versus Commitment

As can be seen from Table 33 the groups high on Interest are the 5,6,7 and 8. Those high on Commitment are the 2,4,6 and 8. Groups 6 and 8, which are common to both, are eliminated and a discriminant analysis should be performed for groups 5,7 on the one hand and 2,4 on the other. However the differences between these groups are significant only at the .26 level; (Wilks' Lambda .31, chi-square 25.78, d.f 22). This means that the overall existing differences between these groups have a high probability of being due to chance. Therefore a discriminant analysis was not worth performing for the differences between the interested and the

committed. In fact their differences were not significant on any variable as can be seen from Table 36.

TABLE 36 : Wilks' Lambda and univariate F-ratio of the independent variables discriminating between Interest and Commitment in the Greek data

Variable	Wilks' Lambda	F
Gender	1.00	.02
Age	1.00	.02
Type of study	.97	.91
Father's occupation	.97	.89
Political perception (1)	1.00	.07
"          "      (2)	1.00	.00
"          "      (3)	1.00	.00
"          "      (4)	.99	.33
Class attendance	1.00	.03
General activities	.98	.49
Authoritarianism	.97	.97
Radicalism	1.00	.00
Externality	.99	.42
Family-evaluation	.97	.87
Family-dynamism	.96	1.35
Father-evaluation	.99	.27
Self-evaluation	1.00	.00
Mother-evaluation	.99	.40
Self-father difference	.96	1.51
Self-mother      "	.95	1.56
Evaluation of pol.participation	.96	1.26
Dynamism      "      "      "	1.00	.00
d.f. 1/33      p.05 4.13      p.01 7.44		

On the face of this it was decided to control for radicalism and consider only the two pure groups of high commit-

ment and low interest, low protest (group 2), and the group of high interest, low commitment, low protest (group 5)<sup>7</sup>. Of course it is understood here that these groups are very small in size and the produced results only as indicative of a possibly true relationship can be considered. They are reported here simply as a matter of interest. Table 37 presents the results of this analysis.

TABLE 37 : Wilks' Lambda and Univariate F-ratio of the independent variables discriminating between the two groups of pure Interest and Commitment, amongst the non-protesters, in the Greek data

Variable	Wilks' Lambda	F
Gender	.96	.44
Age	.89	1.47
Type of study	.98	.24
Father's occupation	.48	13.17
Political perception (1)	.98	.19
"          "          (2)	.98	.28
"          "          (3)	.98	.26
"          "          (4)	.97	.39
Class attendance	1.00	.00
General activities	.91	1.11
Authoritarianism	.92	1.04
Radicalism	1.00	.04
Externality	.82	2.57
Family-evaluation	1.00	.03
Family-dynamism	1.00	.03
Father-evaluation	.99	.06
Self-evaluation	.94	.79

(contd.)

Variable	Wilks' Lambda	F
Mother-evaluation	.78	3.38
Self-father difference	.96	.55
Self-mother "	1.00	.02
Evaluation of pol.participation	.98	.20
Dynamism " " "	.98	.20
d.f. 1/12    p.05    4.75    p.01    9.33		

As can be seen from the above table only one variable achieves a statistically significant discrimination, and this is the type of father's occupation. The mean of group 2 on this is 2.75 - see Appendix F - and of group 5 it is 1.80. The range of scores was 1 to 3. Thus, group 2 is just below the highest level of father's occupation while group 5 is just below the middle category. In other words amongst the non-protesters, the committed come from higher status homes than the merely interested. This is in accord of course with the literature of the 60's on the subject, which however included protesters as well as committed amongst the 'activists'.

Table 38 presents the results of the alternative analysis of Interest versus Commitment controlling for Protest. Here groups 4 and 7 have been considered, for which Protest is high.



TABLE 38 : Wilks' Lambda and Univariate F-ratio of the independent variables discriminating between Interest and Commitment in two groups of protesters, in the Greek data

Variable	Wilks' Lambda	F
Gender	.99	.09
Age	.98	.37
Type of study	.94	1.12
Father's occupation	.89	2.42
Political perception (1)	.95	.90
"          "      (2)	.86	3.19
"          "      (3)	.99	.17
"          "      (4)	.98	.41
Class attendance	.97	.51
General activities	.81	4.42
Authoritarianism	.88	2.46
Radicalism	.86	3.03
Externality	1.00	.02
Family-evaluation	.91	1.90
Family-dynamism	.88	2.70
Father-evaluation	1.00	.04
Self-evaluation	.99	.16
Mother-evaluation	.87	2.81
Self-father difference	.97	.52
Self-mother      "	.92	1.67
Evaluation of pol.partic.	.90	2.07
Dynamism      "      "      "	.88	2.58
d.f. 1/19    p.05 4.38    p.01 8.18		

As can be seen from the above table only one variable again achieves a statistically significant discrimination, and this is the level of extra-curricular activities. The mean of group 4 on this is 13 and of group 7

it is 11 - see Appendix F. This indicates that amongst the protesters the committed engage in a lesser degree of general activities than the interested. This agrees with the expectations set out in section 4I. Level of general activities is an important variable for both Interest and Commitment - as it had been thought of. It also conforms to the picture of the politically interested as being a person with many interests in general, and of the politically committed as being devoted mainly to one thing, politics.

In both analyses of Interest versus Commitment the significant variable has been only one and thus no function could have been derived. Thus the analysis of the differences between the two groups stopped after the first step.

### 3. Protest versus Commitment

As can be seen from Table 33 the groups high on Protest are the 3,4,7 and 8. Those high on Commitment are the 2,4,6 and 8. Groups 4 and 8 which are common to both factors were eliminated. A discriminant analysis for groups 3,7 and 2,6 was performed<sup>8</sup>.

Table 39 presents the statistics provided by the first step of the analysis.

TABLE 39 : Wilks' Lambda and Univariate F ratio of the independent variables discriminating between Protest and Commitment in the Greek data

Variable	Wilks' Lambda	F
Gender	1.00	.02
Age	.91	2.26
Type of study	.99	.19
Father's occupation	.99	.14
Political perception (1)	.82	4.93
"          "          (2)	.88	3.16
"          "          (3)	.93	1.61
"          "          (4)	.90	2.56
Class attendance	.95	1.14
General activities	.91	2.13
Authoritarianism	.74	7.92
Radicalism	.54	19.21
Externality	.91	2.31
Family-evaluation	.92	1.77
Family-dynamism	.86	3.86
Father-evaluation	.91	2.15
Self-evaluation	1.00	.03
Mother-evaluation	.99	.12
Self-father difference	.94	1.48
Self-mother          "	.98	.53
Evaluation of pol.part.	.96	.87
Dynamism      "      "      "	.76	7.38
d.f. 1/23      p.05 4.28      p.01 7.88		

From the above table it can be seen that the variables which discriminate significantly are: item 1 of political perception referring to the importance of politics, authoritarianism, radicalism, and a positive regard for the dynamism of political participation. Of course

it could be said that these variables could hardly fail to discriminate as being indicative of 'committed' behaviour, and in this way an impression of circularity is produced. However, it is only an impression since these variables are derived from different information. These four variables enter into the second step of the discriminant analysis in order to produce a single discriminant function.

Table 40 shows the group means on the derived discriminant function and the discriminant function coefficients for the four independent variables.

TABLE 40 : Group centroids of the discriminant function and standardized discriminant function coefficients for the Greek sample

Groups	Function	Variables	Function
protesters	-.49	Pol.perception(1)	-.32
committed	1.04	Authoritarianism	-.07
		Radicalism	-.75
		Dynamism of pol.part.	-.24

On the basis of these results it can be said that in the Greek sample a protester is distinguished from the committed on the basis of his radicalism and positive regard for the importance of politics and political participation, all three combined into a single function. Authoritarianism although an important variable in

itself loses its significance when combined with the others into a linear function. However its higher mean for the committed (108.25 versus 71.76 for the protesters, see also Appendix F) is important in describing the differences amongst the three factors of activism. Its lower score amongst the protesters is also in line with the expectations about the results.

Radicalism was also thought to be associated to protest, while belief in the dynamism of political participation was expected to characterize both the protesters and the committed. However the results show this to be an important characteristic of only the protesters. Belief in the importance of politics - as mentioned above - was not thought to be so important for protest, as it is shown here to be.

The predictive accuracy of the present discriminant function, which is very similar to the one produced for Interest versus Protest, is 88%. Misclassifications occur for both groups but they are minimal.

## B. THE BRITISH CASE

### 1. Commitment versus Interest

As can be seen from Table 33 the groups high on Commitment are the 5,6,7 and 8. Those high on Interest are the 3,4,7 and 8. Groups 7 and 8 were eliminated

since they were common to both. The discriminant analysis was performed between groups 5,6 and 3,4<sup>9</sup>.

Table 41 presents the statistics provided by the first step of the analysis. It can be seen that in the British case there are additional independent variables. These are: club membership, residential background (size and area), and some value scores. All these were not available in the Greek data. The value scores are desirability scores, i.e. they refer to the desirability of the particular value. The values with the greatest statistical significance were included. These were the values "equality", "happiness" and "obedient". (see also Table 24)<sup>10</sup>.

TABLE 41 : Wilks' Lambda and univariate F-ratio of the independent variables discriminating between Commitment and Interest, in the British data

Variable	Wilks' Lambda	F
Gender	1.00	.08
Age	.96	1.08
Type of study	.97	.94
Father's occupation	.96	1.32
Club membership	.95	1.48
Political perception (1)	.95	1.55
" " (2)	.80	7.54
" " (3)	.97	.83
" " (4)	.99	.22

(contd.)

Variable	Wilks' Lambda	F
Class attendance	.99	.20
General activities	.91	2.81
Authoritarianism	1.00	.11
Radicalism	.98	.60
Externality	1.00	.01
Place: England/Scotland	.86	4.67
Place: Size	1.00	.01
Family-evaluation	1.00	.00
Family-dynamism	.98	.66
Father-evaluation	.98	.55
Self-evaluation	1.00	.00
Mother-evaluation	1.00	.02
Self-father difference	.98	.56
Self-mother "	.97	.80
Evaluation of pol.part.	.99	.16
Dynamism " " "	.98	.66
"Equality"	.98	.52
"Happiness"	.92	2.76
"Obedient"	.98	.65
d.f. 1/30    p.05 4.17    p.01 7.56		

From the above table it can be seen that the variables which discriminate significantly are: item 2 of political perception which refers to the relative importance of national issues in comparison to international ones, and area of home background i.e. England/Scotland.

These two variables from a function of discrimination reported in table 42.

TABLE 42 : Group centroids of the discriminant function and standardized discriminant function coefficients, for the British sample

Groups	Function	Variables	Function
Committed	.86	Pol.perception(2)	-.78
Interested	-.39	Place:Eng/Sco	.65

On the basis of these results it can be said that in the British sample a committed is distinguished from the interested because of his lack of internationalism and he also happens, in this particular sample, to come from England. Thus interest makes for a broader conception of politics. This is in accord to the above mentioned expectations. No expectation was stated as to the negative relationship of broad political perception and Commitment. But this result is not surprising since Commitment was thought to cause narrower perceptions in general because of the high psychological and behavioural involvement it requires.

The association of Commitment to England is seen as a matter of fact for the present sample. The fact that the more overtly active in a Scottish University come from England might sound a little peculiar. However let one be reminded of the fact that in the last two decades, at least, English Universities had the lead in political events over Scottish Universities.



They showed more concern with political events. Thus, it might be that English students felt more free to participate overtly in politics, than Scottish students.

The predictive accuracy of the present discriminant function is 75%. Misclassifications occur mainly amongst the Interested.

## 2. Commitment versus Protest

As can be seen from Table 33 the groups high on Commitment are the 5,6,7 and 8. Those high on Protest are the 2,4,6 and 8. Groups 6 and 8 were eliminated since they were common to both. The discriminant analysis was performed between groups 5,7 and 2,4<sup>11</sup>.

Table 43 presents the statistics provided by the first step of the analysis.

TABLE 43 : Wilks' Lambda and univariate F-ratio of the independent variables discriminating between Commitment and Protest, in the British data

Variable	Wilks' Lambda	F
Gender	.96	1.11
Age	.98	.72
Type of study	1.00	.01
Father's occupation	.87	4.59
Club membership	.87	4.62
Political perception (1)	1.00	.00

(contd.)

Variable	Wilks' Lambda	F
Political perception (2)	.97	.85
" " (3)	.93	2.23
" " (4)	1.00	.04
Class attendance	.94	2.00
General activities	.95	1.64
Authoritarianism	.89	3.78
Radicalism	.68	14.75
Externality	.98	.59
Place: England/Scotland	.94	1.86
Place: Size	1.00	.04
Family-evaluation	.94	1.82
Family-dynamism	.98	.70
Father-evaluation	.93	2.34
Self-evaluation	.98	.61
Mother-evaluation	.87	4.78
Self-father difference	.98	.66
Self-mother "	.84	5.88
Evaluation of pol.part.	1.00	.01
Dynamism " " "	.86	4.82
"Equality"	.96	1.34
"Happiness"	.83	6.50
"Obedient"	1.00	.07
d.f. 1/31      p.05 4.15      p.01 7.50		

From the above table it can be seen that the variables which discriminate significantly are father's occupation, club membership, radicalism, mother-evaluation, self-mother difference, dynamism of political participation, and the value "happiness". These seven variables form a discriminant function reported in Table 44.

TABLE 44 : Group centroids of the discriminant function and standardized discriminant function coefficients, for the British sample

Groups	Function	Variables	Function
Committed Protesters	-.85 .80	Father's occup.	-.15
		Club membership	-.39
		Radicalism	.40
		Mother-evaluation(dif.)	.20
		Self-mother difference	.24
		Dynamism of pol.part.	-.40
		"Happiness"	-.24

On the basis of these results it can be said that in the British sample the Committed are primarily distinguished from the Protesters by their lack of radical political ideology, their positive perception of the power of political participation, and their affiliative behaviour. Secondly they are furthermore distinguished by their higher socioeconomic level, their positive evaluation of mother associated with a smaller degree of profile distance from her, and a lower regard for the value "happiness". According to the expectations Protesters should be distinguished by radical political ideology, as it happens, and the most positive perception of political participation, contrary to what happens, as far as the dynamism of the political action is concerned. Thus, the extremity of the political behaviour is not associated with belief in its power. It is committed behaviour that is associated with such a belief. This finding

supports the picture of the political extremist as one who acts in despair, because there must be despair in somebody who performs the most socially condemned or dangerous things and who at the same time doubts the power of these very things.

The Committed, according to the expectations, should be distinguished by greater distance between self and mother which is contrary to what happens. Furthermore, they are characterized by positive mother evaluation when compared to the Protesters. Thus they are closer to their mothers in their descriptions and more positive in their evaluations. They see themselves as more similar to mother, praising her for being close to their ideal, while the Protesters see themselves as dissimilar and also describe their mothers as being far from the 'ideal mother'. Granted this combination of variables, it seems to me that the first combination is indicative of greater dependence on mother, than the second. Thus both the specific hypothesis and the principle on which it was based are not verified.

Positive perception of political behaviour was also expected for the Committed, as it happens; and the only significant value that characterizes them is not political and it is lower for them than for the Protesters. It was expected that both groups would have high political value. As a matter of fact

"happiness" is an important value for both groups but in comparative terms it is even more so for the Protesters. One is wondering whether this is again in accord with a popular view of the protester as one who seeks personal goals through political means, or whether by admitting that "happiness" is an absolutely necessary value the Protesters express their greater concern with humanitarianism. By looking at Table 24 where the rankings of the values, as guides for personal life, are provided it can be seen that "happiness" is ranked higher by the Protesters than the Committed. This, of course, supports the first hypothesis rather than the second.

For the rest of the significant variables no expectations were formulated. However both high status father's occupation and affiliative behaviour are common characteristics of Conservatives. Thus their relationship to political Commitment is most likely due to the association of Commitment with Conservative in the British sample.

The predictive accuracy of the present discriminant function is 97%. Only one case is misclassified from the group of the Committed.

### 3. Interest versus Protest

As can be seen from Table 33 the groups high

on Interest are the 3,4,7 and 8. Those high on Protest are the 2,4,6 and 8. Groups 4 and 8 were eliminated since they were common to both. The discriminant analysis was performed between groups 3,7 and 2,6<sup>12</sup>.

Table 45 presents the statistics provided by the first step of the analysis.

TABLE 45 : Wilks' Lambda and univariate F-ratio of the independent variables discriminating between Interest and Protest, in the British data

Variable	Wilks' Lambda	F
Gender	.99	.45
Age	..91	3.75
Type of study	1.00	.06
Father's occupation	1.00	.11
Club membership	.97	1.32
Political perception (1)	.96	1.46
"          "      (2)	.97	1.22
"          "      (3)	.91	3.68
"          "      (4)	1.00	.04
Class attendance	.97	1.24
General activities	1.00	.03
Authoritarianism	.90	4.27
Radicalism	.74	13.47
Externality	.98	.76
Place: England/Scotland	.99	.29
Place: Size	1.00	.08
Family-evaluation	.96	1.39
Family-dynamism	1.00	.03
Father-evaluation	.92	3.17
Self-evaluation	1.00	.16

(contd.)

Variable	Wilks' Lambda	F
Mother-evaluation	.93	3.05
Self-father difference	.95	2.22
Self-mother "	.96	1.75
Evaluation of pol.part.	1.00	.07
Dynamism " " "	.99	.24
"Equality"	.93	2.82
"Happiness"	1.00	.16
"Obedient"	.99	.25
d.f. 1/39	p.05 4.10	p.01 7.35

From the above table it can be seen that the variables which discriminate significantly are authoritarianism and radicalism. These two variables form a discriminant function reported in Table 46.

TABLE 46 : Group centroids of the discriminant function and standardized discriminant function coefficients, for the British sample

Groups	Function	Variables	Function
Interested	-.38	Authoritarianism	-.09
Protesters	.66	Radicalism	.95

On the basis of these results it can be said that in the British sample the Interested are distinguished from the committed by their greater authoritarianism, and the Committed from the Interested by their greater radicalism. Of course it can be seen that Authoritarianism becomes insignificant when combined with Radicalism into one factor. However, its sign is in the correct

direction. According to the expectations radicalism and low authoritarianism were the anticipated characteristics of Commitment. No explicit expectations was formulated for the relationship of these two to Interest, but if a hypothesis had to be formulated it should have been identical to the present findings, for Commitment to differ from Interest. The predictive accuracy of the present discriminant function is 68%. Misclassifications occur for both groups.

### C. CONCLUSION

A summary table has been prepared in order to give an overview of the differences between the various factors of activism, in each cultural group. Table 47 shows the three variables.

TABLE 47 : Summary results of the discriminant analysis for the Greek sample

INTEREST		
Pol.perc.(1)	PROTEST	
Radicalism		
Dyn.pol.part.		
	Pol.perc.(1) + Radicalism + Dyn.pol.part. +	COMMITMENT
Fath.occ. - General act. +		



shows the three variables that discriminate Interest from Protest and indicates the direction of their relationship to Interest. After this, it shows the three variables that discriminate Protest from Commitment, and the two variables that partly discriminate Interest from Commitment. Table 48 follows the same pattern in presenting the results of the discriminant analysis in the British sample.

TABLE 48 : Summary results of the discriminant analysis for the British sample

INTEREST		
Radicalism -	PROTEST	
	Fath.occ. - Club memb. - Radicalism + Moth.eval. - Self.Moth.sim. - Dyn.pol.part. - "Happiness" +	
Po.perc.(2) + Place:Scotland		
		COMMITMENT

From the first table it can be seen that in the Greek case in terms of personality there are only protesters and non-protesters. Although three different types of political activists exist, i.e. Interested, Protesters, and Committed in terms of psychological characteristics it is meaningful to talk only about protesters and non. This is most likely a reflection of the socio-political situation in Greece at the time. Because only protest

behaviour counted as truly political there was a great pressure for protest action. Therefore a person with the appropriate political ideology and the appropriate perception of political participation was a protester, and a person with the opposite characteristics a non-protester. Deeper psychological characteristics loose their strength in affecting behaviour in situations where the external pressure for one type of activity is so great. More conscious and rational factors take the lead.

Thus, at the end of this analysis it is known who the Protester is and how he differs from the Interested and the Committed. He is one of radical political ideology, one who believes strongly in the all-pervasive nature of politics, and the dynamism of the political act. It is not known however who the two others are, - apart from being the opposite of the Protesters -, and how to discriminate between them. The only thing that is known is that the Committed come from higher status homes, while the Interested engage more in general types of activities.

From Table 48 it can be seen that in the British case the three factors are better differentiated in terms of personality variables. When the various groups are compared it is seen that the Interested are concerned with politics and are aware of the international character of its significance, while remaining non-radical in

ideology. The Protesters are of radical ideology, cynical about the power of the political act, uncommitted in group action, away from mother, and in search of "happiness". Finally the Committed are of conservative ideology, with a strong belief in the power of the political act, they have a narrow-minded conception of politics, they belong to structured groups, they come from higher status homes and they report a certain closeness to mother.

## CHAPTER 9:

### FOOTNOTES

1. From: Cooley and Lohness (1962), pp.116-133; Heyck and Klecka (1973); Kerpelman (1972); Van de Geer (1971); Veldman (1967), pp. 268-279.
2. High has been defined as at or above the mean and low as below the mean.
3. For the scores on the third factor see each time the relevant discriminant analysis where the group means on the three factors of activism are reported and the way in which the high and low scores cancel each other out is shown.
4. The combined groups 5,6 and 3,4 had the following means on Commitment - the ignored factor.  
5: - .67      6: .39      3: - 1.08      4: .77  
Since the scores are considered on the above/below the mean basis, these scores achieve the desired balance.  
The differences between groups 5,6 and 3,4 are significant at the .004 level. Wilks' Lambda .61, chi-square 13.13, d.f. 3
5. For the means and standard deviations of all variables for all discriminant groups see Appendix F.
6. Wilks' Lambda is a statistic of group discrimination. The smaller the Lambda the higher the differentiation. (SPSS, 1970, p.442)
7. One might wonder why pure groups had not been considered in all cases right from the start. The reason is that in such a case only 3 of the 8 groups could have been used. Their size was too small to justify ignoring the rest of the data.
8. The combined groups 3,7 and 2,6 had the following means on Interest:  
3: - 1.33      7: .61      2: -1.44      6: .61  
These scores cancel each other out, on the above/below the mean basis.  
The differences between groups 3,7 and 2,6 are significant at the .003 level. Wilks' Lambda .47, chi-square 15.74, d.f. 4
9. The combined groups 5,6 and 3,4 had the following means on Protest.  
5: -.80      6: 1.06      3: -.57      4: 1.36  
These scores cancel each other out, on the above/below the mean basis.

The differences between groups 5,6 and 3,4 are significant at the .002 level. Wilks' Lambda .65 chi-square 12.28, d.f. 2

10. In this table the value "a world of beauty" appears as having the same value as the value "happiness". However, this is due to the rounding up of numbers. In fact, for "happiness" the highest correlation is .3312, while for "a world of beauty" it is -.3272.

11. The combined groups 5,7 and 2,4 had the following means on Interest:

5: -.83      7: .98      2: -.90      4: .84

These scores cancel each other out, on the above/below the mean basis.

The differences between groups 5,7 and 2,4 are significant at the .0001 level. Wilks' Lambda .29, chi-square 34.06 d.f. 7

12. The combined groups 3,7 and 2,6 had the following means on Commitment:

3: -.76      7: 1.22      2: -.50      6: 1.32

These scores cancel each other out, on the above/below the mean basis.

The differences between groups 3,7 and 2,6 are significant at the .003 level. Wilks' Lambda .74, chi-square 11.35, d.f. 2

## C O N C L U S I O N

## C O N C L U S I O N

In this last part of the thesis the points outlined in its purpose and hypotheses will be considered in summary form:

(1) The hypothesis of the multi-dimensionality of political activity was corroborated. Three factors were needed to account for political activism in both cultures. These factors have been named: the factor of 'political interest', the factor of 'political protest', and the factor of 'political commitment'. These factors were cross-culturally valid, although their content was not exactly the same in both cultures.

(2) The personality variables examined were for the most part successful in differentiating between types and degrees of political activity. These were the variables: radicalism, authoritarianism, self-mother similarity, self-father similarity, mother-evaluation, father-evaluation, self-evaluation, perceived dynamism of political participation, perception of politics (items 1 and 2), level of extra-curricular activities, residential background, father's occupation, club membership, and the value 'happiness'. The direction of their relationship to political activity has been discussed in comparison to the expectations when

the results of the regression and the discriminant analyses were presented. (See especially the comparative Table 31 for the type of confirmation offered to the expectations).

The variables that did not emerge as important ones either in the regression or the discriminant analyses were: gender, age, type of study, place of origin (size), perception of politics (items 3 and 4), class attendance, locus of control, family-evaluation and -dynamism, and finally evaluation of political participation.

(3) Some variables have gained cross-cultural significance in accounting for political activism, when all of the factors are considered simultaneously. These were: radicalism, self-father similarity, self-evaluation, dynamism of political participation, political perception (item 1), and father's occupation. From these, two variables have been cross-culturally significant when the factors are considered in pairs. These were: radicalism and perceived dynamism of political participation. Their particular relationships to political activity have been discussed in detail in the last two chapters of the thesis.

Here, no further reference will be made to



the expectations or to the independent variables as such. To conclude the thesis it seems appropriate to try to describe in summary what has been gained in total by the present study. The question to be answered is what can be picked up as a result of this work that can be said in a minimum of words and convey the maximum of meaning. To this end the following point will be made. The analysis of the relationship of political activity and personality has dealt with two issues: The issue of intensity and the issue of character. Two questions have been asked: what explains the level of one's political activity that one engages in. From the statistical analysis of the data it has been seen that the choice as to how much to participate, i.e. the issue of the intensity of political behaviour, involves mainly cognitive and ideological factors in the Greek sample, and a balanced combination of cognitive-ideological and emotional factors in the British sample.

More specifically, high Interest is explained in the Greek sample by lack of radicalism and authoritarianism; and in the British sample by lack of radicalism, positive perception of the dynamism of political participation, belief in the importance of politics and finally lack of self-similarity.

High Protest is explained in the Greek sample

by radicalism and positive perception of the dynamism of political participation; and in the British sample by radicalism and negative self-evaluation.

High Commitment is explained in the Greek sample by self-father similarity, negative father- and self-evaluation, and belief in the importance of politics; and in the British sample by self-mother similarity and belief in the dynamism of political participation. (See also Table 32).

The choice as to what type of activity to get in involves purely cognitive and ideological issues in the Greek case and mainly the same in the British case. More specifically the Protesters in the Greek sample are of radical ideology, they believe in the importance of politics and the dynamism of political participation - and on the basis of all three they differ from both the Interested and the Committed. In the British sample the Protesters are also of radical ideology - and on the basis of this they differ from both the Interested and the Committed; while from the Committed they also differ on the basis of lower social status of father's occupation, their non-affiliative behaviour, their negative mother-evaluation, their lack of self-mother similarity, their weak belief in the dynamism of political participation, and their great concern with "happiness".

The Interested in the Greek sample are characterized by lack of radical ideology and lack of belief in the importance of politics and the dynamism of political participation - by which they differ from the Protesters -; and by lower status of father's occupation, and higher level of general activities - by which they differ from the Committed. In the British sample the Interested are characterized by lack of radicalism - by which they differ from the Protesters -; and by a sense of internationalism and Scottish residential background - by which they differ from the Committed.

The Committed in the Greek sample are less radical than the Protesters and their belief in the importance of politics and the dynamism of political participation is also lower; while the status of their father's occupation is higher and the level of their general activities is lower when compared to that of the Interested. In the British sample the Committed are not radical, but they believe in the dynamism of political participation, the status of their father's occupation is high, they show affiliative behaviour, their self-mother similarity and mother-evaluation is positive and their pursue for "happiness" is less when compared to the Protesters; while in comparison to the Interested they do not have internationalist attitudes and they tend to come from England. (See also Tables 47 and 48).

As a result it can be expected that the Interested will find it easy to explain accurately<sup>1</sup> why they are merely interested in politics and not overtly protesting about it - since Interest is mainly explained by cognitive variables. It will be a little bit more difficult for them to say why they are not committed to politics, since the difference between the two involves some demographic variables.

The Protesters should find it easy to explain why they are protesters, in the Greek sample, the reason being the same as above. In the British sample it should be more difficult because there Protest is explained by both cognitive and emotional variables, and the connections of the latter to politics are not easily perceived or admitted by the layman.

Finally the Committed should have the most difficulty, in both samples, to explain in depth why they are committed, since Commitment is explained by all types of variables, i.e. cognitive, emotional, and demographic.

The above extrapolation from the results seems reasonable when political involvement and personality are seen in the context of the politics of each country. The less a particular behaviour demands the less one should think that would be invested in it. Interest is the most

painless form of political participation, so it involves very conscious and obviously political factors in terms of personality sources, in both cultures. Protest has been easy in Greece and so it presents the same picture as Interest in its explanation by socio-psychological variables. But it has been difficult in Britain, and there it involves both conscious and obviously political factors and other personality variables not directly related to politics. The same holds true for Commitment which is the most demanding form of political behaviour in both countries.

CONCLUSION :

FOOTNOTES

1. 'Accurately' is taken here to mean an explanation that will include the variables found to be associated with the relevant factor according to the results of both the regression and the discriminant analyses.

## A P P E N D I X   A

### THE QUESTIONNAIRE

## A P P E N D I X   A

### THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Front page    :    Demographic Variables

- I    A.    :    F-Scale
- B.    :    R-C Scale
- C.    :    Four Items of Political Awareness Index

- II            :    Political Activity Index
- Item 15   a-f :    General Activities Index

III            :    Value Survey

IV            :    Semantic Differential Concepts and Scales

V             :    I-E Scale (buffer items not included)



Questionnaire for the British students

Would you please state, for purely demographic reasons, your

- a) Sex:
- b) Age:
- c) Department:
- d) Father's occupation:
- e) Permanent residence (only the town name):
- f) Do you belong to any university clubs?: 1) Yes      2) No  
(Please check one)

If yes, are they of a: 1) political nature

2) cultural      "

3) scientific      "

4) athletic      "

5) other      "

(Please check any relevant ones)

Here are various statements about topics that some people support and others do not. For every statement you are asked to indicate how much you agree or disagree with its content. Please mark each one in the left margin, according to the amount of your agreement or disagreement, by using the following scale:

- |                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| + 1 slight support, agreement.   | - 1 slight opposition, disagreement.   |
| + 2 moderate support, agreement. | - 2 moderate opposition, disagreement. |
| + 3 strong support, agreement.   | - 3 strong opposition, disagreement.   |

1. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
2. No weakness or difficulty can hold us back if we have enough will power.
3. Science has its place, but there are many important things that can never possibly be understood by the human mind.
4. Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict.
5. Every person should have complete faith in some supernatural power whose decisions he obeys without question.
6. When a person has a problem or worry, it is best for him not to think about it, but to keep busy with more cheerful things.
7. A person who has bad manners, habits, and breeding can hardly expect to get along with decent people.
8. What the youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country.
9. Some people are born with an urge to jump from high places.
10. Nowadays when so many different kinds of people move around and mix together so much, a person has to protect himself especially carefully against catching an infection or disease from them.
11. An insult to our honour should always be punished.
12. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.
13. It is best to use some undemocratic authorities to prevent disorder and chaos.
14. What this country needs most, more than laws and political programmes, is a few courageous, tireless, devoted leaders in whom the people can put their faith.
15. Sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped, or worse.
16. People can be divided into two distinct classes: the weak and the strong.
17. There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude, and respect for his parents.
18. Some day it will probably be shown that astrology can explain a lot of things.

- |                                 |                                       |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| + 1 slight support, agreement   | - 1 slight opposition, disagreement   |
| + 2 moderate support, agreement | - 2 moderate opposition, disagreement |
| + 3 strong support, agreement   | - 3 strong opposition, disagreement   |

19. Nowadays more and more people are prying into matters that should remain personal and private.
20. Wars and social troubles may some day be ended by an earthquake or flood that will destroy the whole world.
21. Most of our social problems would be solved if we could somehow get rid of the immoral, crooked, and feebleminded people.
22. The wild sex life of the old Greeks and Romans was tame compared to some of the goings-on in this country, even in places where people might least expect it.
23. If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off.
24. Most people don't realize how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret places.
25. Homosexuals are hardly better than criminals and ought to be severely punished.
26. The businessman and the manufacturer are much more important to society than the artist and the professor.
27. No sane, normal, decent person could ever think of hurting a close friend or relative.
28. Familiarity breeds contempt.
29. Nobody ever learned anything really important except through suffering.

## B.

1. Ultimately, private property in the instruments of production should be abolished and complete socialism introduced.
2. Profits of the great industries should be rigidly controlled by the government.
3. The nationalization of the great industries is likely to lead to inefficiency, bureaucracy, and stagnation.
4. The reason that many advocate "free enterprise" is because it will enable them to continue exploiting the workers.
5. The traditional capitalistic system provides for the best possible distribution of wealth, human nature being what it is.
6. Labour unions should become stronger and have more influence generally.
7. The right to inherit wealth is a sound principle which provides a strong incentive for creative work.
8. In a socialist system the worker maintains his dignity and self-respect, while under capitalism he is just a tool or instrument to be exploited.

- |                                 |                                       |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| + 1 slight support, agreement   | - 1 slight opposition, disagreement   |
| + 2 moderate support, agreement | - 2 moderate opposition, disagreement |
| + 3 strong support, agreement   | - 3 strong opposition, disagreement   |

9. In general, full economic security is harmful; most men wouldn't work if they didn't need the money for eating and living.
10. No one should be allowed to earn more than £10,000 a year "take-home" income.
11. It is up to the government to make sure that everyone has a secure job and a good standard of living.
12. The "laissez faire" economic system may not be perfect, but it has brought us about as close as human beings can get to a perfect society.
13. Wages and salaries would be fairer, jobs more steady, and we would have fewer people out of work, if the government took over and ran our mines, factories and industries.
14. The present arrangement for the distribution of wealth is altogether unsound.

1. Politics are not something separate, but pervade almost all aspects of life.
2. In the long run national political issues are more important than international political issues.
3. The political ideologies of people are influenced by factors such as their personalities or their various psychological needs.
4. The only way social conflict can be eliminated is through the change of governments.

II. Here are now some questions about various acts or opinions of yours on some aspects of political life. After each question there are alternative answers. Choose the one that best expresses what you do or think and draw a circle around the number which is just before this answer.

1. How often would you say you read the political articles and the editorials in a newspaper?  
(i) Never (ii) Rarely (iii) Often (iv) Regularly
2. How often would you say you listen to the news on the radio or the TV?  
(i) Never (ii) Rarely (iii) A few times a week (iv) Every day
3. Would you say there are some magazines, books or people to whom you particularly turn for the substantiation of your political ideas or your political ideas tend to be peculiar to yourself?  
(i) Peculiar to myself (ii) Turn to other sources
4. Do you discuss politics in your family?  
(i) Never (ii) Rarely (iii) Often (iv) Regularly
5. Do you discuss politics with your friends?  
(i) Never (ii) Rarely (iii) Often (iv) Regularly
6. Would you say political discussions are for you most of the times:  
(i) Uninteresting (ii) Dangerous (iii) Enjoyable (iv) Very interesting
7. Have you tried to convince anyone of your political ideas recently?  
(i) Never (ii) Maybe once or twice (iii) A few times (iv) Many times
8. Has anyone asked your advice on a political question recently?  
(i) Never (ii) Maybe once or twice (iii) A few times (iv) Many times
9. Would you say you get as excited about something that happens in politics as about something that happens in personal life?  
(i) Never (ii) Rarely (iii) Sometimes (iv) Frequently
10. Would you describe yourself, with reference to politics, as being  
(i) Not interested at all (ii) Not very interested (iii) Interested  
(iv) Very interested ?
11. Have you attended any meetings, during the last two years, where political discussions or speeches were made?  
(i) Never (ii) Maybe once or twice (iii) A few times (iv) Many times
12. Have you done any work for any political organization or party during the last two years?  
(i) Never (ii) Maybe once or twice (iii) A few times (iv) Many times

13. Would you describe yourself, with reference to politics, as being

(i) Not active at all (ii) Not very active (iii) Active (iv) Very active ?

14. Here is a list of activities and I would like you to indicate how often you have been doing these things during the last two years. The numbers 1-4 correspond to the following phrases:

(i) Never (ii) Rarely (iii) Frequently (iv) Regularly

a) Going to classes or lectures	1	2	3	4
b) Watching sports events	1	2	3	4
c) Going to night clubs, pubs, parties etc	1	2	3	4
d) Working on hobbies	1	2	3	4
e) Going to concerts, theatre, movies	1	2	3	4
f) Going on excursions, trips etc	1	2	3	4
g) Taking part in peace marches	1	2	3	4
h) Taking part in demonstrations	1	2	3	4
i) Taking part in strikes	1	2	3	4
j) Distributing leaflets, newspapers, literature etc	1	2	3	4
k) Having a responsible role in a political event	1	2	3	4
l) Attending the meetings of a political club	1	2	3	4

## III.

Here are 18 values listed in alphabetical order. Your task is to arrange them in order of their importance to YOU, as guiding principles in YOUR life. Each value is printed on a gummed label which can be easily peeled off and posted in the boxes on the left-hand side of the page.

Study the list carefully and pick out the one value which is the most important for you. Peel it off and paste it in Box 1 on the left.

Then pick out the value which is second most important for you. Peel it off and paste it in Box 2. Then do the same for each of the remaining values. The value which is least important goes in Box 18.

Work slowly and think carefully. If you change your mind, feel free to change your answers. The labels peel off easily and can be moved from place to place. The end result should truly show how you really feel.

1	_____	A COMFORTABLE LIFE (a prosperous life)
2	_____	AN EXCITING LIFE (a stimulating, active life)
3	_____	A SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT (lasting contribution)
4	_____	A WORLD AT PEACE (free of war and conflict)
5	_____	A WORLD OF BEAUTY (beauty of nature and the art)
6	_____	EQUALITY (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all)
7	_____	FAMILY SECURITY (taking care of loved ones)
8	_____	FREEDOM (independence, free choice)
9	_____	HAPPINESS (contentedness)
10	_____	INNER HARMONY (freedom from inner conflict)
11	_____	MATURE LOVE (sexual and spiritual intimacy)
12	_____	NATIONAL SECURITY (protection from attack)
13	_____	PLEASURE (an enjoyable, leisurely life)
14	_____	SALVATION (saved, eternal life)



15	_____	SELF-RESPECT (self-esteem)
16	_____	SOCIAL RECOGNITION (respect, admiration)
17	_____	TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close companionship)
18	_____	WISDOM (a mature understanding of life)

Below is another list of 18 values. Arrange them in order of importance, the same as before.

1	_____	AMBITIOUS (hard-working, aspiring)
2	_____	BROADMINDED (open-minded)
3	_____	CAPABLE (competent, effective)
4	_____	CHEERFUL (lighthearted, joyful)
5	_____	CLEAN (neat, tidy)
6	_____	COURAGEOUS (standing up for your beliefs)
7	_____	FORGIVING (willing to pardon others)
8	_____	HELPFUL (working for the welfare of others)
9	_____	HONEST (sincere, truthful)
10	_____	IMAGINATIVE (daring, creative)
11	_____	INDEPENDENT (self-reliant, self-sufficient)
12	_____	INTELLECTUAL (intelligent, reflective)
13	_____	LOGICAL (consistent, rational)
14	_____	LOVING (affectionate, tender)



15 \_\_\_\_\_

OBEDIENT  
(dutiful, respectful)

16 \_\_\_\_\_

POLITE  
(courteous, well-mannered)

17 \_\_\_\_\_

RESPONSIBLE  
(dependable, reliable)

18 \_\_\_\_\_

SELF-CONTROLLED  
(restrained, self-disciplined)

Now, if you have finished ordering the two sets of values, go back to them again and try to assign to them a degree of desirability. That is, say which ones, if any, are in your opinion

- 1) Absolutely necessary
- 2) Necessary
- 3) It doesn't matter whether they are present or not
- 4) Unnecessary
- 5) Undesirable

Do that by placing next to them one of the above numbers, that is the one that corresponds to the phrase which best expresses your opinion.

IV. This part of the questionnaire examines the meaning that certain concepts have for you. You are to rate every concept, given in the first line of each column, on the 7-point scales given below it, i.e. the concept "brother" and the scale "strong : : : : : weak". If you felt that the concept "brother" was very closely associated with one end of the scale, you might place your check mark as follows:

"strong :X: : : : : weak".

If you felt that the concept was quite closely related to one side of the scale, you might check as follows: "strong : :X: : : : : weak". If the concept seemed only slight related to one side as opposed to the other, you might check as follows: "strong : : :X: : : : : weak". If you considered the scale completely irrelevant, or both sides equally associated, you would check the middle space on the scale: "strong : : : :X: : : : : weak". If you felt that the concept is associated with the other end of the scale you would check accordingly.

Do not look back and forth throughout the test. Complete each section in its turn. Work at fairly high speed, without puzzling over the individual items for long periods. It is your first impression that is wanted. As soon as you begin to feel a little fatigued put the test aside for a while and do something else.

a) My Family

strong	: : : : : weak
friendly	: : : : : hostile
pleasant	: : : : : unpleasant
active	: : : : : passive
dangerous	: : : : : harmless
fair	: : : : : unfair
peaceful	: : : : : belligerent
successful	: : : : : unsuccessful
hard	: : : : : soft
excitable	: : : : : calm

b) My Father

strong	: : : : : weak
friendly	: : : : : hostile
pleasant	: : : : : unpleasant
active	: : : : : passive
dangerous	: : : : : harmless
fair	: : : : : unfair
peaceful	: : : : : belligerent
successful	: : : : : unsuccessful
hard	: : : : : soft
excitable	: : : : : calm

c) My Mother

strong	: : : : : weak
friendly	: : : : : hostile
pleasant	: : : : : unpleasant
active	: : : : : passive
dangerous	: : : : : harmless
fair	: : : : : unfair
peaceful	: : : : : belligerent
successful	: : : : : unsuccessful
hard	: : : : : soft
excitable	: : : : : calm

d) My Self

strong	: : : : : weak
friendly	: : : : : hostile
pleasant	: : : : : unpleasant
active	: : : : : passive
dangerous	: : : : : harmless
fair	: : : : : unfair
peaceful	: : : : : belligerent
successful	: : : : : unsuccessful
hard	: : : : : soft
excitable	: : : : : calm

e) The Ideal Father

strong	: : : : : :	weak
friendly	: : : : : :	hostile
pleasant	: : : : : :	unpleasant
active	: : : : : :	passive
dangerous	: : : : : :	harmless
fair	: : : : : :	unfair
peaceful	: : : : : :	belligerent
successful	: : : : : :	unsuccessful
hard	: : : : : :	soft
excitable	: : : : : :	calm

g) My Ideal Self

strong	: : : : : :	weak
friendly	: : : : : :	hostile
pleasant	: : : : : :	unpleasant
active	: : : : : :	passive
dangerous	: : : : : :	harmless
fair	: : : : : :	unfair
peaceful	: : : : : :	belligerent
successful	: : : : : :	unsuccessful
hard	: : : : : :	soft
excitable	: : : : : :	calm

f) The Ideal Mother

strong	: : : : : :	weak
friendly	: : : : : :	hostile
pleasant	: : : : : :	unpleasant
active	: : : : : :	passive
dangerous	: : : : : :	harmless
fair	: : : : : :	unfair
peaceful	: : : : : :	belligerent
successful	: : : : : :	unsuccessful
hard	: : : : : :	soft
excitable	: : : : : :	calm

h) Political Participation

strong	: : : : : :	weak
friendly	: : : : : :	hostile
pleasant	: : : : : :	unpleasant
active	: : : : : :	passive
dangerous	: : : : : :	harmless
fair	: : : : : :	unfair
peaceful	: : : : : :	belligerent
successful	: : : : : :	unsuccessful
hard	: : : : : :	soft
excitable	: : : : : :	calm

- V. This part of the questionnaire is to find out the way in which certain important events in our society affect different people. Each item consists of a pair of alternatives lettered a or b. Please select the one statement of each pair which you more strongly believe to be the case as far as you are concerned and draw a circle around the letter just before it. Be sure to select the one you actually believe to be more true rather than the one you think you should choose or the one you would like to be true.

In some instances you may discover that you believe both statements or neither one. In such cases, be sure to select the one you more strongly believe to be the case as far as you are concerned.

- 2.a. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.
- b. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.
- 3.a. One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.
- b. There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.
- 4.a. In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world.
- b. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.
- 5.a. The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.
- b. Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.
- 6.a. Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.
- b. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.
- 7.a. No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you.
- b. People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.
- 9.a. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.
- b. Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.
- 10.a. In the case of the well prepared student there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test.
- b. Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying is really useless.
- 11.a. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
- b. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.
- 12.a. The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.
- b. This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.

- 13.a. When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.
  - b. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.
- 15.a. In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
  - b. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.
- 16.a. Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.
  - b. Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
- 17.a. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand, nor control.
  - b. By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control world events.
- 18.a. Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.
  - b. There really is no such thing as "luck".
- 20.a. It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.
  - b. How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are.
- 21.a. In the long run the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones.
  - b. Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all three.
- 22.a. With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.
  - b. It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.
- 23.a. Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.
  - b. There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get.
- 25.a. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.
  - b. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life.
- 26.a. People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.
  - b. There's not much use in trying too hard to please people, if they like you, they like you.
- 28.a. What happens to me is my own doing.
  - b. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.
- 29.a. Most of the time I can't understand why politicians behave the way they do.
  - b. In the long run the people are responsible for bad government on a national as well as on a local level.

## A P P E N D I X   B

### THE   INSTRUMENTS   USED   IN   THE   STUDY

1. The Political Activity Index

Items 1, 2, 5, 6, 7 and 11 were taken from Douglas' (1970) study, mainly from Chapters 4: "MassMedia and Political Reality", and 6: "Students under Guided Democracy : The Apolitical Campus". He used these items with college students in a study of political socialization and student activism. Items 1 and 2 are also based on Lanes' book: "Political Life" (1964). Especially on Chapter 6 where he deals with "reading, viewing and listening to politics" and "political discussion".

Item 4 is taken from Jones' "Penzacola Z scale".<sup>1</sup> It loads on a "dependency" factor of the scale, which in its totality measures authoritarianism by using personal items rather than those specifically loaded socially or politically.

Items 6 and 12 are taken from Woodward and Roper's study (1950) measuring the political activity of American citizens, by an 8-items scale.

Items 8 and 9 constitute the "Opinion Leadership Index" used by Lazarsfeld et al.<sup>2</sup> as a measure of degree of interest and articulateness about public issues, for a stratified sample N = 600, and it was found to be discriminative for "political alertness".

Item 10 is from Nasatir's study (1966) on "university experience and political unrest". Together with item 6, and one more, constitute an index of interest in politics. Item 10 refers to the "subjective orientation" of the student in politics and item 6 to his "behaviour".

Items 13 and 14 are from Campbell's et al. (1954) 5-items "Index of Political Participation". It was used in a study of a national cross-section sample of 1614 Americans in 1952, and it was found to be highly related to measures of sense of political efficacy, sense of citizen duty, and issue involvement.

Item 3 is a new item referring to the students' activism in the university, concerning university issues relative to political matters. It is included in this form only in the British questionnaire and it has replaced an item of the Greek questionnaire referring to "listening to foreign broadcasts", which was relevant for Greek students during the military régime.

The Political Activity Index also contains six items concerning radical activism. These are incorporated into the Index of General Activities in the questionnaire. In the analysis of the data, however, they were considered together with the items of the Political Activity Index. The first five of these items were taken from Haan, Smith and Block's study (1968). They were used in a questionnaire measuring politico-social activity and these five items were the ones relevant to political activism. The sixth item was different in the two questionnaires. In the Greek version it referred to 'student meetings' and was similar to item 3 of the Political Activity Index of the British version. In the British version it referred to 'political club meetings'. The difference in the two versions is due to the purely political nature of the student body/council meetings in the university in Athens, which



can be compared only with the meetings of a political club in Edinburgh.

The possible scores for all of these items range from one to four. One represents total lack of interest in politics in any of the issues, two, three and four represent different degrees of intensity of a positive answer to all of the items.

Subjects, according to this index of political activity, can be grouped according to the main type of activity they report, if any, and according to the intensity which they report to characterize their political acts.

This index - as mentioned above - had been constructed for this study and has not been tested before. Although most of its items have been used in various studies by different researchers, as a whole it is only used here and its face validity has to be accepted as adequate, since all of its items are matters of fact. The same holds true about its reliability. Unless the subjects are lying - the chances of which all conditions of the study tried to minimize - we have to accept that what they say about themselves is what they usually say about themselves in similar situations.<sup>3</sup>

## 2. The I-E Scale by Rotter

The I-E control scale is a forced-choice instrument the items of which consist of paired alternatives between internal and external control interpretations of various events. The forced-choice format was preferred by Rotter et al. (1962) as representing better the reality of complex social situations where making preferences rather than absolute judgements is more common. But as Hughes (1975) has mentioned, in a brief examination of the I-E scale, some of the items are so unrealistically phrased that one is forced to embrace a view one does not hold because of the extremity of its alternative. Also 13 out of the 23 items of the scale are phrased in a general way and not as personal statements, a fact which blurs the interpretation of the results, by not knowing whether the respondent describes his personal feelings or the socio-political situation as he sees it. "Is the high-scorer [external] a social critic or low in felt efficacy?" [Hughes 1975, pp.38-39]. This, I think, is one of the most important defects of the scale which any researcher studying especially political activists must keep in mind: the blurring between what constitutes a personality trait and what a reflection of society or societal norms.<sup>4</sup>

Reliability measures of the scale have been consistent. As reported by Rotter (1966) test-retest reliability measures, for different samples and for varying time intervals, ranging from one to two months, were .49 to .83. Hersch and Scheibe (1967) report similar results for two months intervals; reliability coefficients ranged from .48 to .84. Internal consistency estimates, obtained

with item analysis of the results of 400 university students ranged from .65 to .79. The scale correlates satisfactorily with other measures of internal-external control obtained by Likert-type scales, interviews, and more projective techniques.

Its discriminant validity was established on the basis of its low correlations with variables such as social desirability, intelligence and political liberalness; but later evidence suggests that it may not be totally free from social desirability effects or political and ideological bias. Its construct validity is provided by the general satisfaction of predicted differences in the behaviour of individuals scoring above and below the median, and by the satisfaction of hypotheses as to the relation of locus of control to behaviour under different conditions in laboratory experiments.<sup>5</sup>

3. The "Value Survey" by Rokeach

In this study, Form D (sticky labels) of the Rokeach Value Survey was used. Form D is considered to be the best version of the Value Survey developed thus far, because its reliability is consistently higher than that of the other forms, it is more interesting to complete and its completion rate is high. Median test-retest reliabilities of terminal values are .78 to .80 and for instrumental values .70 to .72 for college students and for time intervals of three to seven weeks (Rokeach 1973).

The Value Survey has been used for research purposes in various fields like deviant behaviour (Cochrane, 1974), occupational choices (Rokeach, Miller and Snyder, 1971), social attitudes and their relationship to values (Rokeach, 1973), etc. and it has yielded significant differences in the value systems of the various different groups studied.<sup>6</sup> In addition it has been found to be free of order and social desirability effects.<sup>7</sup>

The measurement technique employed by the Value Survey has attracted much attention. Homant (1969) compared the rank ordering of values with semantic differential ratings of values, Penner, Homant and Rokeach (1968) compared rank ordering with paired comparison methods, and Feather (1973) compared rating and paired comparison procedures vs ranking procedures.

Homant used 15 semantic differential scales to measure the connotative meaning of the values of the Value Survey. He then

correlated the value rankings with the semantic differential ratings of values and found that the evaluative scales of the semantic differential were closely related to value rankings (median  $\rho$  correlations = .68 for the terminal and .62 for the instrumental values). Potency and activity scales of the semantic differential were only slightly related to value preferences.

Evidence from the Penner, Homant and Rokeach study seemed to be in favour of the ranking procedure over the paired comparisons method, which produced similar results but in a more economical way with the first method. With paired comparisons there was a gain in reliability for the terminal values (.87 vs .78 - .80) but that was offset by a loss of reliability for the instrumental values (.60 vs .70 - .72). Feather found that assessment procedure had little effect on the value systems produced by the three different methods. He concluded that since all procedures have advantages as well as disadvantages of their own, it is up to individual researchers to decide which one is best for their purposes.

However, Moore (1975) in a study with Israeli students, suggests that since for group results the rating method produces similar results with the ranking method, it would be preferable to use the rating method which provides normative interval scales rather than ipsative, ordinal ones. Still, a gain in the level of measurement will be offset by a loss in the relative ranking of values which for Rokeach is central to the concept of value system and the psychological significance of each value in relation to each other.

In the present study, which follows Rokeach's conceptualization of values, the ranking procedure was applied. But after complaints made by the Greek subjects - who were the first to be tested - about the irrelevance of certain values, the rating procedure was added, for the British sample. Rokeach does not seem to have come across a similar complaint, since he says that all values of the Value Survey are desirable, but at least for the Greek sample that was not the case. Thus, the respondents in the British sample in addition to generating a value hierarchy, also rated each value on a 5-point scale which ranged from absolutely necessary, through irrelevant, to undesirable.<sup>8</sup> In this way the value hierarchy was obtained but the respondent also provided evidence of his/her subjective regard for each value independently of the rest. It is important to know that somebody is, for example, concerned in his life first with equality, second with mature love . . . , tenth with a world in peace . . . , sixteenth with wisdom, seventeenth with pleasure and eighteenth with salvation, but it is equally important to know that with wisdom, pleasure and salvation, for example, he is not really concerned because the relevant values stop for him at number 15 in the Rokeach Value Survey. However, because he is asked to do so, he goes on ranking them in terms of importance, minimum irrelevance or even chance. In such cases predictions or conclusions drawn on the assumption that the 18 ranked values represent the true order of concern, of the particular respondent or group of respondents, are not justified. The values one is not concerned with, or even rejects, must affect one's behaviour no doubt, but to assume that they affect it in the same way as one's positive values

do and to treat them therefore indiscriminately by summing them up with the rest of values in one's value system, requires both theoretical justification and empirical support to be provided first; and in the current state of research both of these are lacking. Thus, hopefully, the rating method will prove to be a useful supplement to the ranking method for the assessment of values with the Value Survey.

4. The R-C Scale by Nettler and Huffman

The R-C (radicalism-conservatism) scale by Nettler and Huffman was used for the measurement of this variable. This scale was favoured over others more extensively used; like the PEC by Adorno et al., or the C by Wilson, for example, due to its content which seemed to be the most suitable for both cultures and its direct reference to politico-economic issues.

It consists of 14 six-point Likert-type items, which were taken from many sources like Adorno, Eysenck and Centers. Its corrected split-half reliability on a two-week retest, for N = 113 upper classmen and graduate students at Berkeley, is reported to be .88. Its validity was tested against groups of known ideology, i.e. Republicans, Democrats and Socialists and it was found to differentiate amongst them beyond the .01 level of significance. It was also found to correlate significantly with personal ratings of subjects on an eight-point continuum of radicalism-conservatism.

It has been used by Nettler and Huffman in a study of political opinion and personal security with both non-academic subjects and college students.

Item 12 reading: "America may not be perfect, but the American way has brought us about as close as human beings can get to a perfect society" was changed, for obvious reasons, to "The 'laissez faire' economic system may not be perfect, but it has brought us about as close as human beings can get to a perfect



society". The two items are not identical in their underlying tendencies, because the first is associated to both ethnocentrism and conservative economic ideology while the second is associated to economic ideology only. Also item 10 which refers to a ceiling for a year 'take-home' income being \$25,000 for 1957 was changed to £10,000 per year or 25,000 drachmas per month.<sup>10</sup>

## 5. The F Scale

Form 40/45, containing 29 items, of the F Scale was used in this study. This form is an improved and shorter version of the original F Scale. All of its items differentiate significantly between high and low quartiles. Its reliability, for  $N = 1518$  comprising 44 different groups, was found to be .90; individual group means varying from .81 to .97. Its correlations with the E (ethnocentrism) and PEC (political-economic conservatism) are in the range of .73 to .77 for the E scale, and of .52 to .61 for the PEC. The mean item scores was 3.84 with group means ranging from 4.19 to 4.39.<sup>11</sup>

6. a. The Semantic Differential

Over and above the points made about the Semantic Differential in relation to the present study, this instrument has some unique advantages and disadvantages. It is very difficult to do fairness in reviewing, in a few lines, a technique of such an extensive use and theory behind it; nevertheless a few points will be made related in a general way to the Semantic Differential.

Due to its great flexibility it has been extensively used in cross-cultural research and it has established the fact that the structure of affective meaning is universal, that is the same across cultures. Consequently, its use is even more fruitful in cross-cultural research.<sup>12</sup> It has been used with British and Greek samples, among many others, and it has been applied to the measurement of attitudes to political concepts. It combines standardization with flexibility and it can be adapted to elaborate statistical analyses.<sup>13</sup> Its main disadvantage is that it forces metaphorical usage of many concepts in many scales that are not literally applicable, with the result of measuring predominantly the affective meaning of concepts and ending up with concepts of different meaning having identical semantic differential profiles. . . . But for the purposes of this study this 'peculiarity' of the Semantic Differential can be seen as an advantage, since it is exactly the affective component of the concepts used that is of primary interest.

As an example of its cross-cultural applications two studies will be discussed here as being the most relative to the

variables examined in this thesis.<sup>14</sup> The first is an example of its use with Greek subjects, and the second with British subjects.

Triandis, Vassiliou, Nassiakou (1968) applied a "role differential" and "behavioral differential"<sup>15</sup> in Greek and American samples analyzing "subjective culture", by examining "role perceptions", "behavioral intentions" and "perceptions of social behavior". The subjects were asked to indicate the appropriateness of a particular behaviour to a particular role, and to express their behavioural intentions towards certain categories of people. Greek data were comparable with the rest of the data. Four culture-common factors emerged: "affect", "intimacy", "dominance" and "hostility". The first two were judged as most important for "the perception of social behaviour".

Some of the results obtained by their method of studying subjective culture, which are also relevant to the present study, are the following: The roles "University administrator - Student", or vice-versa, appear as very important in the Greek culture, and are of a hostile nature.

There is a lot of affect in the "Son-Mother" roles which in the Greek case takes the form of the mother anticipating 'troubles' for her son and being therefore ready to 'help him', 'advise him', 'feel sorry for', etc. They are also very important role in the Greek culture.

Authority figures who do not belong to the ingroup are ignored, while authority figures of the ingroup are highly respected. This is named by the authors "antiauthoritarianism", but not in contrast to authoritarianism as developed by Adorno, et al.

Warr, Schroder, Blackman (1969) examined the structure of political judgement. One of the instruments used in their study was the Semantic Differential. The stimuli to be judged were national governments and the scales used had been pre-tested and were found to be relevant to those concepts. Although their concern with "structure" made them use mostly open-ended measures, the Semantic Differential dimensions which were chosen by the researchers were more content-relevant rather than structure-relevant.

Their sample consisted of University students who rated 10 national governments on 10 nine-point scales. The students were divided into three different groups according to their membership to a political party: left-wing, right-wing, and centre who were not committed to any political party. Differences in their judgements of the 10 governments emerged. The authors say that, for example, conservative students perceived the Russian government as more "communist", the Spanish government as more "wise and honest" and the government of West Germany as more "sensitive to its people's needs" than the rest of the groups. Thus, it was found that the content of political judgements is affected by political ideology.

The structure of political judgement was not affected by political ideology. The different groups, however, were using

different dimensions of judgement. For example, the authors report that the left-wing students used more the dimensions "capitalist-communist", "government structure", "role of tradition", "extensiveness of control" and "censorship". The right-wing students used more dimensions like "maturity", "particular leader", and "bilateral ties". Finally the centre students used mostly dimensions like "democratic-autocratic", "initiative" and "world view".

All of the points made in Chapter 5 in relation to the use of the Semantic Differential in this study referred to its technical advantages as a measurement technique for the variables of self and parental evaluation and self-parents similarity, as defined and used in this study. There are some additional points to be made of direct relationship to these variables:

(1) The Semantic Differential has been reported to be sensitive to critical changes in the meaning of concepts such as "me", "my father", etc. and also that shifts in the measured distances between "me" and "mother" versus "me" and "father" correspond to changes in identification that take place during therapy [Mowrer 1953].

(2) Some additional support for using the Semantic Differential in the measurement of parental evaluation comes from an article by Kuusinen (1969) who stresses the similarity between the factorial structure of the Semantic Differential and the factorial structure of our judgement when rating the personalities of other people,<sup>16</sup> these being primarily affective in nature but when

statistically partialling out the affective component being both affective and denotative.

(3) It has been repeatedly and satisfactorily used for the measurement of all three variables that are of interest here. For example, Pervin and Lilly (1967) used it as a self concept instrument, in studying its relationship to social desirability as measured by the Crowne and Marlowe Scale. Their subjects were asked to rate the concepts "my self" and "my ideal self" on 13 scales. The discrepancies between actual self and ideal self ratings were calculated for each scale separately, for the three factors of evaluation, potency and activity separately, and each subject was also given a total discrepancy score for all 13 scales. They concluded that

"High social desirability scores were found to be significantly related to high self judgements and low self-ideal self discrepancies on scales high on the evaluative dimension . . . [and] high [on] importance ratings."

[p.852]

Kuusinen (1969) used semantic differential scales for the ratings of concepts like: "my mother" and "my father", etc. in an effort to investigate the factors one uses in evaluating the personalities of other people. He computed scale intercorrelations from concept means and then factor analyzed the data. His results - as mentioned above - indicate that when the affective components are eliminated statistically, two factor structures remain, one of affective dimensions of personality ratings and one of denotative dimensions.

Finally, Lazowick (1955) used the Semantic Differential in a study of inferred identification and anxiety level. He computed profile similarities of the concepts "myself", "mother" and "father" as rated by the subject himself. He found that low anxiety males showed greater profile similarity between "self" and "father" and lower between "self" and "mother" than high anxiety males. Low anxiety females showed greater profile similarities between "self" and "mother" than high anxiety females, but equal to them profile similarity between "self" and "father".

b. Self-Evaluation, Self-Parents Similarity and Parental-Evaluation

The concepts rated on the Semantic Differential Scales for the purpose of measuring these variables were: My Self, My Father, My Mother, My Ideal Self, The Ideal Father, The Ideal Mother, and My Family.

The scores were computed in the following way:

Self-Evaluation = My Ideal Self - My Self

Self-Parents Similarity = My Father - My Self, and  
My Mother - My Self

Parental-Evaluation = The Ideal Father - My Father  
The Ideal Mother - My Mother, and  
My Family.

It has been reported by Triandis and Osgood (1958) that, for two groups of Greeks and Americans, the clearest indicators for these concepts had been 11 pairs of adjectives. From these, five were chosen to be used in this study, the following:



'successful-unsuccessful', (evaluation factor); 'hard-soft', 'strong-weak', (potency factor); 'excitable-calm' and 'active-passive', (activity factor).

Robinson and Shaver (1969) report four pairs of adjectives which are usually used for the measurement of the self-concept. These are the following: 'friendly-unfriendly', 'pleasant-unpleasant', 'fair-unfair' and 'kind-cruel'. The first three have been used in this study, the fourth was substituted with the pair 'peaceful-belligerent'.

Some of these concepts have also been proposed by Warr and Haycock (1970), and Warr, Schroeder and Blackman (1969) to be especially suitable for use with British subjects. For persons the adjectives 'strong-weak', and 'fair-unfair' are suggested, amongst several others. For political concepts they used, successfully, 'strong-weak', 'pleasant-unpleasant', and finally, 'gentle-rough', which was thought to be similar to what was used here, i.e. 'hard-soft'.

Thus, most of the adjectives used in the Semantic Differential Scales in this study have been repeatedly used by other researchers and have been found to load significantly on the three factors of evaluation, potency and activity, when used with concepts similar to the ones used here. The two scales that have been introduced for the purposes of this study were 'peaceful-belligerent' and 'dangerous-harmless'. These were introduced because of their relevance to the

concept Political Participation, the meaning of which was also measured by the Semantic Differential Scales and which is being discussed later in this Appendix.

## 7. Interests

The six items that constitute the Index of General Activities were taken from an 18-items "list of free-time activities" by Converse and Robinson (1969). They prepared this list to be used in a study of "Correlation between participation in various types of activities and life satisfaction" for adult population. The particular six items were selected as being the most relevant to students and a few of them were revised for the same purpose.

## 8. Perception of Politics

The first question asked was "how broad is the subjects' perception of politics", i.e. how broad, they consider, its sphere of influence to be; how closely they think national politics are related to international politics; whether they think human needs and psychological variables come into politics or whether they see politics as a battle of ideologies only; and finally how important and powerful they consider governmental policies to be by themselves.

Four items were included in the questionnaire concerning directly the above issues, presented as four independent questions.

The first two items were taken from Jacobs' (1969) 5-items Political Concern Scale, used with British and South African students. The other two items were new.

Items 1 and 3 are positively worded, i.e. agreement implies political awareness. Items 2 and 4 are negatively worded and require reverse scoring, i.e. agreement implies lack of political awareness.

The second question asked was "how differently do activists in contrast to non-activists view political participation?"

The Semantic Differential was used for this purpose, rating the concept 'political participation' on the same adjectives as the above-mentioned concepts on parental- and self-evaluation. Two bipolar adjectives, "dangerous-harmless" and "peaceful-belligerent"

were especially included for political participation, but were also present in the rest of the concepts. "Fair-unfair", "strong-weak" and "active-passive", which were included in the scales anyway, are reported to be "characteristic attributes of the political frame of reference" significant for three different voting groups [Osgood et al., 1957, p.120].

"Dangerous-harmless" was included on the basis of some of the realities of life in Greece. Political participation used to be, realistically speaking, rather dangerous and its perception as such should differentiate between activists and non-activists.

Finally, "peaceful-belligerent" was thought to be relevant to the means of political participation.

APPENDIX B :

FOOTNOTES

1. As reported in Robinson and Shaver (1969) p.277.
2. As reported in Robinson, Rusk and Head (1968), p.438.
3. Kerpelman (1972) in his study used a scale, which he had initially constructed and used in another study, which closely resembles the Index used in this study. Eight out of his total 12 items are the same or nearly the same with those comprising the Index of Political Activity constructed for the present study. He reports that "college student activists of all ideologies were found to score significantly higher than student nonactivists" (p.146). The split-half reliability of the scale was reported to be  $r = .93$  for the same sample. His scale measures activity in terms of physical participation, communication activities and information-gathering activities related to political and social issues. His measures concern the actual activity and the desired activity of the students in his sample, for which he uses the same scale twice, under different instructions.
4. This is a point especially related to the discussion of the evidence of externality rather than internality being related to activism, and to the point made there that left activists might be responding primarily in terms of their sociopolitical ideology and not in terms of their personal feelings pertaining to self.
5. The case of activism with which the review of the literature was concerned in the present research has been one of the exceptions where predictions were not always borne out.
6. See also the results of its application in political participation and values as reported in the section of findings about the relationship of political activity to values.
7. Although an apparent order effect was discovered for Instrumental Values, Cochrane and Rokeach (1970) who examined the issue decided that it was not a true order effect. Instrumental Values tended to be ranked in a similar way to that in which they were presented, i.e. those present at the top of the list of values were also ranked top by the respondents in their value systems. This was explained by the fact that top values in the list happened to be more significant than lower values and were therefore justifiably ranked top by the respondents.

8. Unfortunately no counterbalancing procedure was followed and there is some evidence (Moore, 1975) that doing first the ranking and then the rating - which was the case here - results in slightly lower ratings.
9. As reported in Robinson, Rusk and Head (1968, p.116).
10. 70 drachmas = £1. The monthly rate was used for the Greek sample due to its more popular use over the yearly rate.
11. As reported in Robinson and Shaver (1969, pp.224-227).
12. See Snider and Osgood (1969) and the late series of publication on the use of Semantic Differential starting with Osgood, May and Miron (1975).
13. For a review of the Semantic Differential Technique see Snider and Osgood (1969), and Warr and Knapper (1968).
14. The reader, however, is also referred to the studies of:
  - (1) Triandis (1968) for a summary article of the studies on cognitive consistency theories. Data from Greece are reported from the studies of Triandis and Fishbein (1963) and Triandis and Triandis (1962).
  - (2) Triandis and Fishbein (1963) used Greek and American subjects in a testing of the superiority of Fishbein's theory of the relationship of belief and attitude, over the congruity principle of Osgood *et al.* Fishbein claims that in judging a complex stimulus the end result of the way in which it is perceived will be the sum of the attitudes towards each one of its components. Osgood *et al.* claim that the perception is the result of the congruence of the components. The study supports Fishbein's theory. The Semantic Differential Technique had been used.
  - (3) Triandis and Triandis (1962), report that Greeks assign major importance to religion in their judgements of social distance.
  - (4) Triandis, Vassiliou, Vassiliou, Tanaka and Shanmugam (1972) incorporate the results of all their studies with Greek subjects, as well as subjects from other countries.
  - (5) Warr and Haycock (1970) report several steps in the creation of a Personality Differential with scales suitable for a British population. The E.P.A. structure emerged again.
  - (6) Warr and Knapper (1968) describe and use the Semantic Differential from the view of the "perception of people and events".
15. These are methodologically identical to a semantic differential but instead of adjectives in the poles of a scale they have behaviours or behavioural intentions, respectively.
16. Similar findings are reported from Warr and Haycock (1970) from British data. They used only persons as stimuli, for the development of a personality differential. Notwithstanding their limited range of scales and concepts the E.P.A. structure of meaning - or judgement in their case - did not fail to emerge.

A P P E N D I X C

THE FACTOR ANALYSIS OF THE

I-E SCALE BY ROTTER



## A P P E N D I X C

### THE FACTOR ANALYSIS OF THE I-E SCALE BY ROTTER

According to the results from the review of the literature it was expected that more than one factor would be needed to account for the variance of the I-E Scale. On this ground it was proposed, in the second part of the thesis, to explore the data for possible multi-dimensionality of the locus of control. On the basis of this analysis it would be decided whether more than one factor was needed to account for internality-externality in this case.

The results of the factor analysis are reported in Tables 49,50,51,and 52.<sup>1</sup> As can be seen from these results the first factor in the Greek data has significant loadings of 18 items, and in the British data of 14 items. Although these factors do not cover all of the items, they are, however, the principal ones and constitute two general factors of externality, one for each culture.

Three factors were required to account for all of the items of the I-E Scale in the Greek data, and four factors in the British data. The three factors accounted for 36.7% of the total variance, while the four factors, of the British sample, for 39.4%. The first factor was a general factor of Externality. It accounted for 16.7% of the variance in the Greek case, and 14% in the British case. Eight factors were significant, taking up 66.1% of the variance in the Greek data, and nine factors were significant in the British data accounting for 66.7% of the variance.

TABLE 49: Correlation matrix of the 23 items of the I-E Scale  
by Rotter, in the Greek sample

	ROT01	ROT02	ROT03	ROT04	ROT05	ROT06	ROT07	ROT08	ROT09	ROT10	ROT11	ROT12	ROT13	ROT14	ROT15	ROT16	ROT17	ROT18	ROT19	ROT20	ROT21	ROT22	ROT23
ROT01	1.00000	0.21133	0.07046	0.07485	0.08206	0.16071	0.19286	-0.11261	0.2480	-0.37715													
ROT02	0.21133	1.00000	0.16450	-0.17806	0.19743	0.27055	0.22271	-0.15804	-0.4109	0.31363													
ROT03	0.07046	0.16450	1.00000	0.13851	0.10146	0.38470	0.27386	0.23850	0.25302	0.13271													
ROT04	-0.17806	-0.13851	0.13851	1.00000	0.33685	0.33876	-0.17729	0.16315	0.21361	0.11549													
ROT05	0.08206	0.19743	0.10146	0.33685	1.00000	0.12339	0.15893	0.12113	0.22504	0.22755													
ROT06	0.27055	0.22271	0.38470	0.33876	0.12339	1.00000	0.15893	0.12113	0.22504	0.22755													
ROT07	0.19286	-0.11261	0.2480	-0.4109	0.31363	0.13271	0.11549	0.22504	0.22755	0.24317													
ROT08	-0.37715	0.31363	0.13271	0.11549	0.22504	0.22755	0.24317	0.24332	0.24332	0.24332													
ROT09	0.2480	-0.4109	0.31363	0.21361	0.22504	0.22755	0.24317	0.24332	0.24332	0.24332													
ROT10	0.31363	0.11549	0.22504	0.22755	0.24317	0.24332	0.24332	0.24332	0.24332	0.24332													
ROT11	0.19286	-0.11261	0.2480	-0.4109	0.31363	0.13271	0.11549	0.22504	0.22755	0.24317													
ROT12	-0.11261	0.2480	-0.4109	0.31363	0.13271	0.11549	0.22504	0.22755	0.24317	0.24332													
ROT13	0.07485	0.08206	0.10146	0.33685	0.12339	0.15893	0.12113	0.22504	0.22755	0.24317													
ROT14	0.07485	0.08206	0.10146	0.33685	0.12339	0.15893	0.12113	0.22504	0.22755	0.24317													
ROT15	0.08206	0.19743	0.10146	0.33685	1.00000	0.12339	0.15893	0.12113	0.22504	0.22755													
ROT16	0.27055	0.22271	0.38470	0.33876	0.12339	1.00000	0.15893	0.12113	0.22504	0.22755													
ROT17	0.19286	-0.11261	0.2480	-0.4109	0.31363	0.13271	0.11549	0.22504	0.22755	0.24317													
ROT18	-0.11261	0.2480	-0.4109	0.31363	0.13271	0.11549	0.22504	0.22755	0.24317	0.24332													
ROT19	0.2480	-0.4109	0.31363	0.21361	0.22504	0.22755	0.24317	0.24332	0.24332	0.24332													
ROT20	0.31363	0.11549	0.22504	0.22755	0.24317	0.24332	0.24332	0.24332	0.24332	0.24332													
ROT21	0.19286	-0.11261	0.2480	-0.4109	0.31363	0.13271	0.11549	0.22504	0.22755	0.24317													
ROT22	-0.11261	0.2480	-0.4109	0.31363	0.13271	0.11549	0.22504	0.22755	0.24317	0.24332													
ROT23	0.07485	0.08206	0.10146	0.33685	0.12339	0.15893	0.12113	0.22504	0.22755	0.24317													

TABLE 50: Correlation matrix of the 23 items of the 1-E Scale  
by Rotter, in the British sample

	ROT1	ROT2	ROT3	ROT4	ROT5	ROT6	ROT7	ROT8	ROT9	ROT10													
ROT1	1.0000	-0.05112	-0.00183	0.19175	0.20393	0.12001	-0.09770	0.10671	0.15053	-0.03762													
ROT2	-0.05112	1.0000	-0.02168	-0.02116	-0.07690	0.24851	0.17787	0.33691	-0.03024	0.03618													
ROT3	0.00183	-0.02168	1.0000	0.01589	0.09221	-0.06502	-0.03274	-0.11145	0.04075	0.11233													
ROT4	0.19175	-0.02116	0.01589	1.0000	0.26383	0.11124	-0.03666	0.35794	0.32572	-0.09143													
ROT5	0.20393	0.07690	0.09221	0.26383	1.0000	-0.03346	0.11636	0.38642	0.34798	-0.01347													
ROT6	-0.03762	0.17787	-0.03274	-0.03666	-0.03346	1.0000	0.17706	0.14504	0.05214	0.03214													
ROT7	0.10671	0.33691	0.04075	0.35794	0.38642	0.11636	1.0000	0.39090	0.02879	-0.02558													
ROT8	0.15053	-0.01347	-0.11145	0.35794	0.34798	0.14504	0.39090	1.0000	0.15305	-0.02299													
ROT9	-0.03024	0.03618	0.04075	0.32572	0.04798	0.05214	0.02879	0.15305	1.0000	-0.24150													
ROT10	0.11233	-0.09143	0.04075	-0.03666	-0.01347	-0.02558	-0.02299	-0.02558	-0.24150	1.0000													
ROT11	-0.09143	0.01347	0.11145	0.03666	0.03346	0.03214	0.02879	0.02558	0.02299	0.02558	1.0000												
ROT12	0.03762	-0.17787	0.03274	0.03666	0.03346	0.17706	0.04798	0.14504	0.15305	0.02879	0.02558	1.0000											
ROT13	0.00183	-0.02168	1.0000	0.01589	0.09221	-0.06502	-0.03274	-0.11145	0.04075	0.11233	-0.03762	-0.03618	0.03691	1.0000									
ROT14	0.19175	-0.02116	0.01589	1.0000	0.26383	0.11124	-0.03666	0.35794	0.32572	-0.09143	-0.03024	0.03618	0.04075	0.09221	1.0000								
ROT15	0.20393	0.07690	0.09221	0.26383	1.0000	-0.03346	0.11636	0.38642	0.34798	-0.01347	-0.03024	0.03618	0.04075	0.09221	0.26383	1.0000							
ROT16	-0.03762	0.17787	-0.03274	-0.03666	-0.03346	1.0000	0.17706	0.14504	0.05214	0.03214	-0.03024	0.03618	0.04075	0.09221	-0.03346	-0.03346	1.0000						
ROT17	0.10671	0.33691	0.04075	0.35794	0.38642	0.11636	1.0000	0.39090	0.02879	-0.02558	-0.03024	0.03618	0.04075	0.09221	0.26383	0.33337	0.33337	1.0000					
ROT18	0.15053	-0.01347	-0.11145	0.35794	0.34798	0.14504	0.39090	1.0000	0.15305	-0.02299	-0.03024	0.03618	0.04075	0.09221	0.26383	0.33337	0.33337	0.33337	1.0000				
ROT19	-0.03024	0.03618	0.04075	0.32572	0.04798	0.05214	0.02879	0.15305	1.0000	-0.24150	-0.03024	0.03618	0.04075	0.09221	0.26383	0.33337	0.33337	0.33337	0.33337	1.0000			
ROT20	0.11233	-0.09143	0.04075	-0.03666	-0.01347	-0.02558	-0.02299	-0.02558	-0.24150	1.0000	-0.03024	0.03618	0.04075	0.09221	0.26383	0.33337	0.33337	0.33337	0.33337	0.33337	1.0000		
ROT21	-0.09143	0.01347	0.11145	0.03666	0.03346	0.03214	0.02879	0.02558	0.02299	0.02558	1.0000	-0.03024	0.03618	0.04075	0.09221	0.26383	0.33337	0.33337	0.33337	0.33337	0.33337	1.0000	
ROT22	0.03762	-0.17787	0.03274	0.03666	0.03346	0.17706	0.04798	0.14504	0.15305	0.02879	0.02558	1.0000	-0.03024	0.03618	0.04075	0.09221	0.26383	0.33337	0.33337	0.33337	0.33337	0.33337	1.0000
ROT23	0.00183	-0.02168	1.0000	0.01589	0.09221	-0.06502	-0.03274	-0.11145	0.04075	0.11233	-0.03762	-0.03618	0.03691	1.0000	-0.03346	-0.03346	-0.03346	-0.03346	-0.03346	-0.03346	-0.03346	-0.03346	1.0000

TABLE 51 : Eigenvalues and percentages of explained variance for the eight common factors of Externality for the Greek data. Unrotated factor matrix, using principal factoring, showing factor loadings on the first factor

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	% OF VARIANCE	CUMULATIVE %	ITEMS	FACTOR 1
1	3.83	16.7	16.7	1	0.37
2	2.64	11.5	28.2	2	0.45
3	1.95	8.5	36.7	3	0.44
4	1.68	7.3	44.0	4	0.04
5	1.52	6.6	50.6	5	0.35
6	1.35	5.9	56.5	6	0.41
7	1.14	5.0	61.5	7	0.16
8	1.07	4.7	66.1	8	0.18
<p>N = 65</p> <p>p.05 <math>\geq \pm .23</math></p> <p>p.01 <math>\geq \pm .31</math></p>				9	0.48
				10	0.33
				11	0.55
				12	0.16
				13	0.35
				14	0.52
				15	0.58
				16	0.41
				17	0.51
				18	0.44
				19	0.15
				20	0.52
				21	0.35
				22	0.52
				23	0.48

TABLE 52 : Eigenvalues and percentages of explained variance for the nine common factors of Externality for the British data. Unrotated factor matrix using principal factoring, showing factor loadings on the first factor

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	% OF VARIANCE	CUMULATIVE %	ITEMS	FACTOR 1
1	3.21	14.0	14.0	1	0.30
2	2.37	10.3	24.3	2	0.18
3	1.81	7.9	32.2	3	0.20
4	1.67	7.3	39.4	4	0.37
5	1.45	6.3	45.8	5	0.48
6	1.39	6.1	51.8	6	0.22
7	1.23	5.4	57.2	7	0.22
8	1.17	5.1	62.3	8	0.40
9	1.02	4.5	66.7	9	0.47
				10	0.15
				11	0.25
				12	0.44
				13	0.57
				14	0.38
				15	0.45
				16	0.08
				17	0.42
				18	0.40
				19	0.57
				20	0.58
				21	0.20
				22	0.45
				23	0.07

N = 73

p.05  $\geq \pm .23$

p.01  $\geq \pm .31$

However only the first factor was important - in terms of the number of the items that loaded on it - and meaningful - in terms of the literature on locus of control and the I-E Scale. Thus, an Externality score was computed for each subject according to the way Rotter prescribes for this scale, which assumes that there is only one factor of locus of control measured by the I-E scale.

The percentage of variance covered by the first factor, in both cultures, was small in comparison, for instance, to Collin's (1974) results. He reports a general factor of Internality-Externality with high loadings from most of the items, and four meaningful and important rotated factors of control.<sup>2</sup> However, his results were based on Likert-type data. He had converted each item of the I-E Scale to a Likert-type item. In the factor analysis reported here, however, the data were of an 'either-or' nature. The dichotomous scoring of the I-E scale results in a range of scores from 0 to 1. These type of data do not offer themselves for elaborate statistical analysis. Thus the first unrotated factor of Externality extracted in the present analysis was judged satisfactory and no further analysis of the structure of the I-E Scale was attempted.

APPENDIX C :

FOOTNOTES

1. Only the first factor is shown because the basically unidimensional nature of control is finally accepted in this case.
2. The first unrotated factor had an eigenvalue of 6.9 . Six factors were significant. Thirteen items loaded below  $\pm .30$  on the first factor. The four rotated factors accounted for 29.3%, 25.7%, 24.7% and 20.3% respectively.

## APPENDIX D

### FACTOR ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL ACTIVITY INDEX

1. Alternative Rotations
2. Alternative Factor Analysis Eliminating  
the Two Items Specific to Each Culture
3. Correlation Matrix
4. Frequency Distribution of Factor Scores

### FOOTNOTES



# A P P E N D I X D

## FACTOR ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL ACTIVITY INDEX

### 1. Alternative Rotations

Both varimax and equimax rotations were performed of the factor structure of the Political Activity Index. As mentioned in the main text the equimax solution was accepted as the final one for the Greek sample while the varimax solution was preferred for the British sample. These two were discussed in Chapter 6. Here the alternative rotations are presented and compared in order to explain the choice made previously.

#### a) Varimax Rotation for the Greek data

Table 53 presents the Greek data

TABLE 53 : Varimax rotated factor matrix of the Political Activity Index showing the first three main factors for the Greek data

ITEMS	FACTOR 1 Protest	FACTOR 2 Interest	FACTOR 3 Commitment
1	0.16	0.62	0.40
2	-0.23	-0.09	0.62
3	0.43	0.09	0.12
4	0.72	-0.10	0.12
5	-0.02	0.64	0.13
6	0.39	0.73	0.05
7	0.10	0.69	-0.04
8	0.41	0.69	0.08
9	0.11	0.74	0.18
10	0.57	0.49	0.07
11	0.52	0.68	0.02
12	0.62	0.49	0.17
13	0.54	0.24	0.63
14	0.47	0.54	0.45
15	0.80	0.28	0.14

(contd.)

ITEMS	FACTOR 1 Protest	FACTOR 2 Interest	FACTOR 3 Commitment
16	0.82	0.27	0.10
17	0.70	0.38	0.01
18	0.51	0.23	0.67
19	0.40	0.22	0.72
20	0.56	0.62	-0.02

From this Table it can be seen that in the varimax rotation the first factor is Protest, the second Interest and the third Commitment, in contrast to the equimax rotation where the order of the factors was Interest, Protest, and Commitment.

From comparing the two solutions (Tables 10b and a) it can be seen that item 19 which uniquely characterizes Commitment in equimax, in varimax it has significant loadings at the .01 level on both Protest and Commitment. This renders the equimax solution preferable, since in all other respects the two solutions produce identical results as it can be seen from Table 54.

TABLE 54 : Items with significant loadings on the 3 factors of Political Activism for the Greek Sample, using a) equimax rotation and b) varimax rotation

'Interest'		'Protest'		'Commitment'	
(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
1	1			1	1
				2v	2
		3v	3		
		4v	4		

(contd.)

ITEMS

'Interest'		'Protest'		'Commitment'	
(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
5v.	5				
6 .	6	6	6		
7v.	7				
8	8	8	8		
9v	9				
10	10	10	10		
11	11	11	11		
12	12	12	12		
		13 .	13	13 .	13
14	14	14	14	14	14
		15v.	15		
		16v.	16		
17	17	17	17		
		18 .	18	18 .	18
			19	19v.	19
20	20	20	20		

Symbols: v signifies uniqueness of the item for the particular factor

- . indicates that the item has contributed to the labeling of the factor:

#### b) Equimax Rotation for the British Data

Table 55 presents the British data.

TABLE 55 : Equimax rotated factor matrix of the Political Activity Index showing the First three main Factors for the British data

ITEMS	FACTOR 1 Commitment	FACTOR 2 Interest	FACTOR 3 Protest
1	0.32	0.73	0.39
2	-0.02	0.72	-0.10
3	0.37	0.32	0.52
4	-0.05	0.15	0.59
5	0.33	0.59	0.26

(contd.)

ITEMS	FACTOR 1 Commitment	FACTOR 2 Interest	FACTOR 3 Protest
6	0.45	0.62	0.38
7	0.19	0.74	0.25
8	0.43	0.65	0.33
9	0.56	0.60	0.29
10	0.39	0.56	0.44
11	0.52	0.63	0.38
12	0.76	0.29	0.33
13	0.90	0.26	0.22
14	0.77	0.46	0.17
15	0.07	0.06	0.28
16	0.43	0.14	0.72
17	0.03	0.06	0.86
18	0.90	0.14	0.23
19	0.89	0.27	-0.02
20	0.90	0.26	0.17

From comparing the two solutions (Tables 12b and c) it can be seen that item 12 which uniquely characterizes Commitment in varimax, in equimax it has significant loadings at the .01 level on both Protest and Commitment. This renders the varimax solution preferable, since in all other respects the two solutions produce identical results as it can be seen from Table 56.

TABLE 56: Items with significant loadings on the 3 factors of Political Activism for the Greek sample, using a) varimax rotation and b) equimax rotation

'Commitment' (a) (b)		'Interest' (a) (b)		'Protest' (a) (h)	
1	1	1	1	1	1
		2v.	2		
3	3	3	3	3	3

'Commitment'		'Interest'		'Protest'	
(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
				4	4
5	5	5	5		
6	6	6	6	6	6
		7v.	7		
8	8	8	8		
9	9	9	9		
10	10	10	10	10	10
11	11	11	11	11	11
12v.	12				12
13v.	13				
14	14	14	14		
				(15).	(15) <sup>1</sup>
16	16			16.	16
				17v.	17
18v.	18				
19v.	19				
20v.	20				

Symbols : v signifies uniqueness of the item for the particular factor

. indicates that the item has contributed to the labeling of the factor

1 the particular item reaches significance only at the .05 level. However it is included here because its loading on all other factors is much lower as it can be seen from Tables 12b and c.

## 2. Alternative Factor Analysis Eliminating the Two Items Specific to Each Culture

As mentioned in Chapter 6 the Political Activity Index consisted of 20 items, 2 of which differed in the two national groups. This it can be argued might affect the factor structure and factor loadings and communalities in a significant way and add differences between the two cultures. Here, a factor analysis of the Political Activity Index without these two items is presented and is compared to the one discussed in Chapter 6.

a) The Greek Case

Tables (57,58 and 59) present the factor analysis of the Political Activity Index without items 3 and 20. A comparison of these results with those presented in Tables 9, 10(a) and 57 shows that the two analyses produce essentially the same results.

TABLE 57 : Communalities of the items of the Political Activity Index in the Greek Sample

ITEM	COMMUNALITIES	
	(a) 20-items analysis	(b) 18-items analysis
1	0.57	0.58
2	0.45	0.50
3	0.21	-
4	0.55	0.56
5	0.43	0.41
6	0.70	0.72
7	0.48	0.47
8	0.65	0.66
9	0.60	0.60
10	0.57	0.57
11	0.73	0.73
12	0.65	0.64
13	0.74	0.75
14	0.72	0.71
15	0.74	0.75
16	0.76	0.76
17	0.64	0.65
18	0.77	0.77
19	0.72	0.72
20	0.70	-

The communalities are nearly the same. Slight increases occur for 9 items (1,2,4,6,8,10,13,15,17); for 5 items (9,11,16,18,19) they remain the same; while for 4 items (5,7,12,14) they decrease.

TABLE 58 : Eigenvalues and percentages of explained variance for the four common factors and the three rotated factors for the Greek data, in the 18-items analysis

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	% OF VARIANCE	CUMULATIVE %
1	8.39	46.6	46.6
2	1.73	9.6	56.3
3	1.44	8.0	64.3
4	1.01	5.6	69.9
<u>ROTATED FACTORS</u>			
1		24.2	64
2		23.5	
3		16.3	

TABLE 59 : Factor matrix using principal factoring. The first three common factors of the Political Activity Index for the Greek sample are show, in the 18-items analysis

ITEM	(a)The unrotated solution			(b)The equimax rotated solution		
	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 1 'Protest'	FACTOR 2 'Interest'	FACTOR 3 'Commitment'
1	0.66	-0.18	0.33	0.14	0.62	0.41
2	-0.03	0.30	0.64	-0.37	-0.08	0.59
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	0.47	0.45	-0.37	0.70	-0.14	0.23
5	0.45	-0.37	0.27	0.01	0.62	0.16
6	0.77	-0.35	-0.03	0.42	0.73	0.12
7	0.49	-0.46	0.10	0.11	0.68	0.02
8	0.76	-0.28	-0.04	0.44	0.67	0.15
9	0.62	-0.40	0.24	0.12	0.74	0.20
10	0.73	-0.08	-0.16	0.56	0.47	0.18
11	0.81	-0.26	-0.13	0.53	0.66	0.12
12	0.79	0.02	-0.10	0.59	0.44	0.30
13	0.73	0.42	0.22	0.44	0.19	0.72
14	0.82	0.06	0.20	0.41	0.51	0.54
15	0.78	0.22	-0.30	0.78	0.24	0.28
16	0.77	0.22	-0.34	0.80	0.23	0.25

(contd.)

ITEM	(a) The unrotated solution			(b) The equimax rotated solution		
	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 1 'Protest'	FACTOR 2 'Interest'	FACTOR 3 'Commitment'
17	0.74	0.03	-0.32	0.71	0.35	0.13
18	0.72	0.43	0.26	0.42	0.19	0.75
19	0.65	0.40	0.36	0.29	0.19	0.77
20	-	-	-	-	-	-

N = 67    p.01    .32(1st factor)    .32 (2nd factor)    .33 (3rd factor)  
           p.05    .24        "        .25        "        .26        "

The loadings of the unrotated solutions (Tables 10(a) and 59(a)) are almost the same. In the first factor 5 items (1,13,14,18,19) get higher loadings; 9 items (2,4,5,6,8,9,11,15,17) remain with the same loadings; while 4 items (7,10,12,16) get lower loadings. However none of these differences produce any statistically significant change in the loadings of the factor. Thus the first factor remains the same in terms of its 18 items in both analyses.

In the second factor 10 items (1,4,6,8,9,11,12,15,16,17) get higher loadings; 4 items (5,7,10,13) remain with the same loadings; while 4 items (2,14,18,19) get lower loadings. Of these minor differences only one (item 2) produces a change in the factor loadings, in their levels of significance. Thus in the 20-items analysis item 2 loads significantly at the .01 level on factor 2, while in the 18 items analysis it does so only at the .05 level of significance. However this is not



considered to be an essential change of the nature of factor 2 and thus factor 2 can be said to remain essentially the same in both analyses.

In the third factor 7 items (2,6,8,10,11,13,17) get higher loadings; 5 items (4,12,15,16,19) remain with the same loadings; while 6 items (1,5,7,9,14,18) get lower loadings. None of these changes is significant and thus the third factor remains the same in both analyses.

The loadings of the rotated factors follow the same pattern. In comparing the two equimax rotations it can be seen that factor 1 ('interest') of the 20-items analysis becomes factor 2 in the 18-items analysis, while factor 2 ('protest') of the first becomes factor 1 of the second. Factor 3 ('commitment') remains the same.

In 'Protest' 7 items (1,2,6,8,9,11,17) get higher loadings; 7 items (4,7,10,12,14,15,18) remain with the same loadings; while 4 items (5,13,16,19) get lower loadings. From these differences only one (item 2) is statistically significant. In the 20-items analysis it is significant at the .05 level while in the 18-items analysis it is significant at the .01 level. However this difference is not important because item 2, although relevant to 'Protest', it is not one of the items the presence or absence of which could alter the nature of

the factor.

In 'Interest' 5 items (1,4,6,9,19) get higher loadings; 2 items (10,14) remain with the same loadings; while 11 items (2,5,7,8,11,12,13,15,16,17,18) get lower loadings. However none of these changes results in statistically significant differences.

In 'Commitment' 9 items (2,4,7,10,12,13,15,16,17) get higher loadings; 5 items (5,11,14,18,19) remain with the same loadings; while 4 items (1,6,8,9) get lower loadings. None of these differences is statistically significant.

Thus it can be seen that with the exception of item 2 in 'Protest' -- (a difference of no important consequence) the two analyses produce almost identical results.

The reason for which the 20-items analysis is preferred to the 18-items analysis is the following: Item 3 makes a contrast with item 2 for 'Protest'. Protesters do not listen to the news but to foreign broadcasts. This is a well-known practice in Greece especially for the years where the study refers to. The mass media in Greece are controlled by the government, thus foreign broadcasts are considered to be more trustworthy by those who for some reason oppose the government or a

particular governmental policy. Item 20 adds to the extension of 'Interest' to cover student politics. 'Interest' already does so by including item 17 which refers to strikes<sup>1</sup>. Item 20 which refers to student meetings, substantiates the student character of political 'Interest'.

Thus although the three factors remain practically the same after the exclusion of the items 3 and 20 it is judged that their inclusion helps to characterize better the factors, while their loadings and communalities prove that they are good items for the Greek culture.

Should one be interested in the varimax rotation of the three factors in the 18-items solution Table 60 has been prepared. A comparison of the two solutions shows that for 'Protest' varimax renders item 2 statistically significant only at the .05 level, and item 19 at the .01 level. These changes are rather unwelcome since item 2 is relevant to 'Protest', while item 19 blurs its character. 'Interest' remains the same. 'Commitment' presents a few insignificant differences but remains essentially the same. Overall equimax is again a better solution than varimax.

TABLE 60 : Varimax rotation of the factor matrix of the 18-items Political Activity Index for the Greek data

ITEM	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3
1	0.18	0.64	0.37
2	-0.28	-0.07	0.64
3	-	-	-
4	0.73	-0.11	0.14
5	-0.00	0.62	0.14
6	0.41	0.74	0.03
7	0.09	0.68	-0.02
8	0.44	0.69	0.06
9	0.12	0.75	0.16
10	0.57	0.49	0.08
11	0.52	0.68	0.02
12	0.62	0.47	0.20
13	0.53	0.23	0.64
14	0.47	0.54	0.45
15	0.81	0.27	0.16
16	0.82	0.26	0.12
17	0.71	0.38	0.01
18	0.51	0.23	0.68
19	0.51	0.23	0.68
20	-	-	-

The fourth unrotated factor is also presented in Table 61. It can be seen that in the 20-items analysis this factor has only two statistically significant loadings (items 2 and 3). However none of these is unique to this factor. Item 2 belongs to Factor 3, while item 3 belongs to Factor 1. In the 18-items analysis its unique items are 2 and 10. Again item 2 loads also on Factor 3 while item 10 loads on Factor 1. Thus in both analyses the fourth factor, although statistically significant, it was judged to be unimportant for further study.

TABLE 61 : The fourth common factor of the factor analysis of the Political Activity Index, for the Greek sample

ITEM	FACTOR 4	
	a) 20-items analysis	b) 18-items analysis
1	0.06	0.10
2	0.61	0.57
3	0.43	-
4	-0.10	-0.06
5	-0.09	-0.03
6	0.03	0.03
7	0.30	0.32
8	-0.30	-0.32
9	-0.15	-0.24
10	0.29	0.34
11	-0.05	-0.07
12	0.21	0.29
13	-0.12	-0.09
14	-0.12	-0.16
15	0.10	0.21
16	0.04	0.12
17	-0.00	0.05
18	-0.21	-0.16
19	-0.23	-0.16
20	0.10	-

b) The British Case

Tables (62,63 and 64) present the factor analysis of the Political Activity Index without items 3 and 20. A comparison of these results with those presented in Table 11, 12(a) and 62 shows that the two analyses produce essentially the same results.

TABLE 62 : Communalities of the items of the Political Activity Index in the British sample

ITEM	COMMUNALITIES	
	(a) 20-items analysis	(b) 18-items analysis
1	0.78	0.76
2	0.54	0.58

(contd.)

ITEM	COMMUNALITIES	
	(a) 20-items analysis	(b) 18-items analysis
3	0.50	-
4	0.37	0.46
5	0.52	0.53
6	0.74	0.74
7	0.65	0.64
8	0.72	0.72
9	0.76	0.76
10	0.66	0.67
11	0.82	0.82
12	0.77	0.76
13	0.92	0.92
14	0.03	0.03
15	0.08	0.04
16	0.72	0.74
17	0.74	0.73
18	0.88	0.87
19	0.86	0.86
20	0.91	-

The communalities are nearly the same. Slight increases occur for 5 items (2,4,5,11,16); for 8 items (1,6,8,9,10,13,14,19) they remain the same; while for 5 items (7,12,15,17,18) they decrease.

TABLE 63 : Eigenvalues and percentages of explained variance for the four common factors and the three rotated factors for the British data, in the 18-items analysis

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	% OF VARIANCE	CUMULATIVE %
1	9.48	52.7	52.7
2	1.65	9.2	61.9
3	1.32	7.3	69.2
4	1.11	6.2	75.4
<u>ROTATED FACTORS</u>			
1		30.7	
2		24.6	
3		13.6	68.9

The loadings of the unrotated solutions (Tables 12(a) and 64(a)) are almost the same. In the first factor 9 items (1,2,4,5,7,8,10,11,17) get higher loadings; 4 items (6,9,14,16) remain with the same loadings; while 5 items (12,13,15,18,19) get lower loadings. However none of these differences produce any statistically significant change in the loadings of the factor. Thus the first factor remains the same in terms of its 18 items in both analyses.

TABLE 64 : Factor matrix using principal factoring.  
The first three common factors of the Political Activity Index for the British sample are shown, in the 18-items analysis

ITEM	(a) The unrotated solution			(b) The varimax rotated solution		
	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 1 'Commitment'	FACTOR 2 'Interest'	FACTOR 3 'Protest'
1	0.82	0.27	-0.18	0.35	0.73	0.34
2	0.37	0.21	-0.63	0.04	0.74	-0.16
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	0.32	0.51	0.31	-0.03	0.18	0.65
5	0.69	0.12	-0.20	0.36	0.61	0.18
6	0.84	0.12	-0.10	0.49	0.63	0.30
7	0.69	0.30	-0.26	0.22	0.72	0.26
8	0.83	0.12	-0.15	0.46	0.66	0.26
9	0.86	-0.03	-0.15	0.59	0.62	0.18
10	0.79	0.20	-0.01	0.42	0.57	0.40
11	0.90	0.09	-0.05	0.56	0.63	0.34
12	0.82	-0.23	0.17	0.78	0.30	0.25
13	0.85	-0.40	0.17	0.91	0.25	0.15
14	0.87	-0.27	-0.02	0.79	0.44	0.12
15	0.19	0.03	-0.03	0.11	0.15	0.06
16	0.69	0.19	0.48	0.48	0.17	0.69
17	0.43	0.52	0.52	0.10	0.11	0.84
18	0.79	-0.44	0.24	0.91	0.15	0.15
19	0.75	-0.55	-0.00	0.89	0.25	-0.09
20	-	-	-	-	-	-

N = 76    p .01    .30 (1st factor)    .30 (2nd factor)    .32 (3rd factor)  
           p .05    .23    "    "    .24    "    "    .24    "    "

In the second factor 8 items (4,12,13,14,16, 17,18,19) get higher loadings; 1 item (9) remains with the same loading; while 9 items (1,2,5,6,7,8,10,11,15) get lower loadings. Of these minor differences only one (item 1) produces a change in the factor loadings, in their levels of significance. Thus in the 20-items analysis item 1 loads significantly at the .01 level on factor 2, while in the 18-items analysis it does so only at the .05 level of significance. However this is not considered to be an essential change of the nature of factor 2 and thus factor 2 can be said to remain essentially the same in both analyses.

In the third factor 8 items (2,4,5,9,12,13, 16,18) get higher loadings; 2 items (6,8) remain with the same loadings; while 8 items (1,7,10,11,14,15,17,19) get lower loadings. None of these changes is significant and thus the third factor remains the same in both analyses.

The loadings of the rotated factors follow the same pattern. In comparing the two varimax rotations it can be seen that in 'Commitment' 12 items (2,5, 6,7,9,10,11,12,14,15,16,17) get higher loadings; while 6 items (1,4,8,13,18,19) remain with the same loadings. None of these differences is statistically significant.



In 'Interest' 14 items (2,4,5,6,8,9,10,11,12, 13,15,16,17,18) get higher loadings; 2 items (1,9) remain with the same loadings; while 2 items (7,14) get lower loadings. From these differences only one (item 12) is statistically significant. In the 20-items analysis it is significant at the .05 level while in the 18-items analysis it is significant at the .01 level. However this difference is not important because item 12, although relevant to 'interest' it is even more important for 'Commitment' on which it also has its highest loading.

In 'Protest' 4 items (2,4,7,19) get higher loadings; while 14 items (1,5,6,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15, 16,17,18) get lower loadings. From these differences one (item 6) causes a shift in the levels of significance. In the 20-items analysis it is significant at the .01 level - while in the 18-items analysis it is significant at the .05 level. This difference is not important because item 6 is most relevant to 'Interest' where it has its highest loading and its presence or absence in 'Protest' does not alter its nature.

Thus it can be said that with the exception of item 12 in 'Interest' and item 6 in 'Protest' - which are minor - the two analyses produce similar results. The important difference between these two analyses does not occur in the shifts of the two levels of significance

(.01 and .05) but with item 15. This item does not load on any of the three factors in the 18-items analysis, but it loads on the third factor at the .05 level in the 20-items analysis. This difference renders the three-factors solution insufficient in the first case, but adequate in the second - and this is an advantage for the 20-items solution.

The two items that are excluded in the 18-items analysis have the following characteristics: Item 3 loads on all factors and thus offers no differentiation by itself. However it shows that British students exhibiting any type of political behaviour do not refrain from acting in the university context as well. Political interest or political activism leads them into student politics as well. This is in contrast to the Greek students where political commitment pushes them outside the university. This might suggest a higher integration of political life for the British activists and a certain alienation for the committed in the Greek context who by belonging to organized political groups refrain from student politics. This observation is of course in accord with the initial description of British student politics as more 'professionally' organized than the Greek.

Item 20 is a unique item for 'Commitment'. It also has the highest communality of all the items of the Political Activity Index. Together with item 19 it

defines the nature of 'Commitment' as an organized political activity.

Thus the same conclusion reached above for the Greek case is also reached here for the British case. Although the three factors remain practically the same after the exclusion of items 3 and 20 it is judged that their inclusion benefits rather than harms the results.

Table 65 presents the equimax rotation of the three factors in the 18-items analysis. When this is compared to the varimax solution it can be seen that

TABLE 65 : Equimax rotation of the factor matrix of the 18-items Political Activity Index for the British data

ITEM	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3
1	0.34	0.71	0.39
2	-0.04	0.75	-0.12
3	-	-	-
4	-0.06	0.14	0.66
5	0.35	0.60	0.23
6	0.48	0.62	0.36
7	0.21	0.71	0.31
8	0.45	0.64	0.32
9	0.58	0.61	0.24
10	0.40	0.54	0.45
11	0.54	0.61	0.40
12	0.77	0.29	0.30
13	0.90	0.24	0.21
14	0.78	0.44	0.18
15	0.10	0.15	0.07
16	0.45	0.13	0.72
17	0.06	0.06	0.85
18	0.90	0.14	0.20
19	0.89	0.25	-0.03
20	-	-	-

'Commitment' gets overall slightly higher loadings in varimax, but statistically insignificant. 'Interest' presents a similar picture, with the exception of item 12 which is significant only at the .05 level in equimax but at the .01 in varimax. This makes 'Interest' more similar to the varimax rotation of the 20-items analysis. 'Protest' get slightly lower loadings in varimax. Two of the differences are statistically important. Items 6 and 8 are significant at the .05 level in varimax but at the .01 in equimax. Again this has some similarity with the varimax rotation of the 20-items analysis, where item 6 loaded at the .01 level in 'Protest', but not item 8. However, these differences are not important for the nature of the factors.

Finally the fourth unrotated factor is also presented in Table 66. It can be seen that in the 20-items analysis this factor has only two statistically significant loadings (items 3 and 15). Item 3 is not unique to it. It also loads on the first factor. Item 15 is unique to it, but after the rotation it is incorporated in the third factor at the .05 level of significance.

TABLE 66 : The fourth common factor of the factor analysis of the Political Activity Index, for the British sample

ITEM	FACTOR 4	
	a) 20-items analysis	b) 18-items analysis
1	-0.10	-0.13
2	0.17	0.07
3	0.40	-
4	-0.30	-0.11
5	0.17	0.22
6	0.04	0.05
7	-0.25	-0.25
8	0.05	0.07
9	0.13	0.12
10	-0.11	-0.09
11	-0.12	-0.11
12	-0.00	-0.01
13	-0.03	-0.04
14	-0.11	-0.14
15	0.87	0.93
16	-0.14	-0.02
17	-0.05	0.17
18	0.05	0.08
19	-0.00	-0.04
20	-0.08	-

In the 18-items analysis the fourth factor is a specific factor. Only item 15 loads on it and it is unique to it. Moreover the rotation does not bring it closer to any other factor. Thus had the 18-items analysis been preferred this fourth factor should have been included in the analysis of the British data, had all the items of the Political Activity Index been included.

As a conclusion to the alternative analyses for both cultures it can be said that the two different items are important for the respective cultures. Their

presence facilitates the definition of the factors without altering the structure of the factor analysis. The factors are the same in both analyses and the presence of the two items adds to their political meaning without diminishing their statistical integrity.

### 3. CORRELATION MATRIX

TABLE 67: Correlation matrix of the 4 items of Political and the 20 items of the Political Activity Index

## a) The Greek Case

ITEMS	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	1.00	0.34	-0.19	-0.02	0.13804	-0.03657	0.18121	0.17823	0.35011	0.24289	0.25228	0.25228	0.32193
2	0.34	1.00	-0.33	-0.05	0.19080	-0.14113	0.25128	0.23869	0.40728	0.26963	0.23629	0.23629	0.31363
3	-0.19	-0.33	1.00	0.06	-0.38129	0.22138	-0.21812	-0.25224	-0.27684	-0.15656	-0.41280	-0.41280	-0.29317
4	-0.02	0.06	0.06	1.00	-0.09516	0.28116	-0.07844	-0.22610	-0.22838	-0.16089	-0.16035	-0.16035	-0.24279
1	0.13088	-0.09516	0.28116	-0.07844	1.00000	0.15763	0.14432	0.15930	0.15283	0.32087	0.51796	0.51796	0.29322
2	0.14113	0.22138	0.28116	0.22138	0.15763	1.00000	0.13318	0.13318	0.13318	0.30380	0.23529	0.23529	0.27641
3	0.31219	-0.09516	0.28116	-0.09516	0.14432	0.13318	1.00000	0.13318	0.13318	0.13318	0.13318	0.13318	0.24022
4	0.39869	-0.24224	0.22610	-0.24224	0.15930	0.32087	0.22610	1.00000	0.13318	0.13318	0.13318	0.13318	0.24022
5	0.17823	0.17823	0.17823	0.17823	0.13318	0.13318	0.13318	0.13318	1.00000	0.13318	0.13318	0.13318	0.24022
6	0.35011	0.35011	0.35011	0.35011	0.24289	0.24289	0.24289	0.24289	0.24289	1.00000	0.13318	0.13318	0.24022
7	0.25228	0.25228	0.25228	0.25228	0.23629	0.23629	0.23629	0.23629	0.23629	0.23629	1.00000	0.13318	0.24022
8	0.32193	0.32193	0.32193	0.32193	0.29317	0.29317	0.29317	0.29317	0.29317	0.29317	0.29317	1.00000	0.24022
9	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.23529	0.23529	0.23529	0.23529	0.23529	0.23529	0.23529	0.23529	1.00000
10	0.27641	0.27641	0.27641	0.27641	0.13318	0.13318	0.13318	0.13318	0.13318	0.13318	0.13318	0.13318	0.24022
11	0.40728	0.40728	0.40728	0.40728	0.43802	0.43802	0.43802	0.43802	0.43802	0.43802	0.43802	0.43802	0.43802
12	0.51796	0.51796	0.51796	0.51796	0.47896	0.47896	0.47896	0.47896	0.47896	0.47896	0.47896	0.47896	0.47896
13	0.26963	0.26963	0.26963	0.26963	0.27709	0.27709	0.27709	0.27709	0.27709	0.27709	0.27709	0.27709	0.27709
14	0.32193	0.32193	0.32193	0.32193	0.31843	0.31843	0.31843	0.31843	0.31843	0.31843	0.31843	0.31843	0.31843
15	0.40728	0.40728	0.40728	0.40728	0.43802	0.43802	0.43802	0.43802	0.43802	0.43802	0.43802	0.43802	0.43802
16	0.47896	0.47896	0.47896	0.47896	0.47896	0.47896	0.47896	0.47896	0.47896	0.47896	0.47896	0.47896	0.47896
17	0.23529	0.23529	0.23529	0.23529	0.23529	0.23529	0.23529	0.23529	0.23529	0.23529	0.23529	0.23529	0.23529
18	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022
19	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022
20	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022	0.24022



# b) The British Case

ITEMS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	1.00	0.09	-0.10	0.01	0.38996	0.44228	0.42813	0.49241	0.43786
2	0.09	1.00	-0.12	-0.02	0.23773	0.26955	0.26848	0.33755	0.30753
3	-0.10	-0.12	1.00	0.09	0.19481	-0.14587	-0.18341	-0.15534	-0.22123
4	0.01	-0.02	0.09	-0.01	0.03788	0.09725	0.13895	0.16775	0.14434
5	0.09	0.09	0.09	-0.03788	0.41781	0.27073	0.34353	0.28666	0.26711
6	0.09	0.09	0.09	-0.03788	0.41781	0.27073	0.34353	0.28666	0.26711
7	0.09	0.09	0.09	-0.03788	0.41781	0.27073	0.34353	0.28666	0.26711
8	0.09	0.09	0.09	-0.03788	0.41781	0.27073	0.34353	0.28666	0.26711
9	0.09	0.09	0.09	-0.03788	0.41781	0.27073	0.34353	0.28666	0.26711
10	0.09	0.09	0.09	-0.03788	0.41781	0.27073	0.34353	0.28666	0.26711
11	0.09	0.09	0.09	-0.03788	0.41781	0.27073	0.34353	0.28666	0.26711
12	0.09	0.09	0.09	-0.03788	0.41781	0.27073	0.34353	0.28666	0.26711
13	0.09	0.09	0.09	-0.03788	0.41781	0.27073	0.34353	0.28666	0.26711
14	0.09	0.09	0.09	-0.03788	0.41781	0.27073	0.34353	0.28666	0.26711
15	0.09	0.09	0.09	-0.03788	0.41781	0.27073	0.34353	0.28666	0.26711
16	0.09	0.09	0.09	-0.03788	0.41781	0.27073	0.34353	0.28666	0.26711
17	0.09	0.09	0.09	-0.03788	0.41781	0.27073	0.34353	0.28666	0.26711
18	0.09	0.09	0.09	-0.03788	0.41781	0.27073	0.34353	0.28666	0.26711
19	0.09	0.09	0.09	-0.03788	0.41781	0.27073	0.34353	0.28666	0.26711
20	0.09	0.09	0.09	-0.03788	0.41781	0.27073	0.34353	0.28666	0.26711

ITEMS	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1	0.31169	0.30274	0.22337	0.19026	0.33717	0.04982	0.21937	0.30080	0.26899	0.09482	0.17988
2	0.16512	0.08864	-0.08582	-0.11284	-0.01071	0.02583	0.06888	0.09593	-0.23212	-0.06139	-0.01557
3	0.15474	-0.15474	-0.09482	0.13651	0.06742	-0.23298	0.32423	-0.05610	0.16899	0.10110	0.14394
4	0.04667	0.04667	0.04667	0.04667	0.15687	0.11289	0.11289	0.09305	0.13534	-0.22423	0.20541
5	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.04828	0.07781	0.18314	0.14369	0.47336	0.24377	0.53772
6	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.25521	0.11637	0.18314	0.14369	0.47336	0.24377	0.53772
7	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.45787	0.48460	0.44227	0.36888	0.47336	0.24377	0.53772
8	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.16715	0.02917	0.31696	0.31696	0.47336	0.24377	0.53772
9	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.54302	0.22353	0.51815	0.38513	0.47336	0.24377	0.53772
10	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.65971	0.18414	0.51815	0.38513	0.47336	0.24377	0.53772
11	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.54514	-0.23672	0.46251	0.25768	0.58179	0.48194	0.61495
12	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.07039	0.23657	0.58469	0.26549	0.67623	0.52320	0.59788
13	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.69672	0.22292	0.58469	0.26549	0.67623	0.52320	0.59788
14	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.69672	0.22292	0.58469	0.26549	0.67623	0.52320	0.59788
15	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.69672	0.22292	0.58469	0.26549	0.67623	0.52320	0.59788
16	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.69672	0.22292	0.58469	0.26549	0.67623	0.52320	0.59788
17	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.69672	0.22292	0.58469	0.26549	0.67623	0.52320	0.59788
18	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.69672	0.22292	0.58469	0.26549	0.67623	0.52320	0.59788
19	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.69672	0.22292	0.58469	0.26549	0.67623	0.52320	0.59788
20	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.23049	0.69672	0.22292	0.58469	0.26549	0.67623	0.52320	0.59788

#### 4. FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF FACTOR SCORES

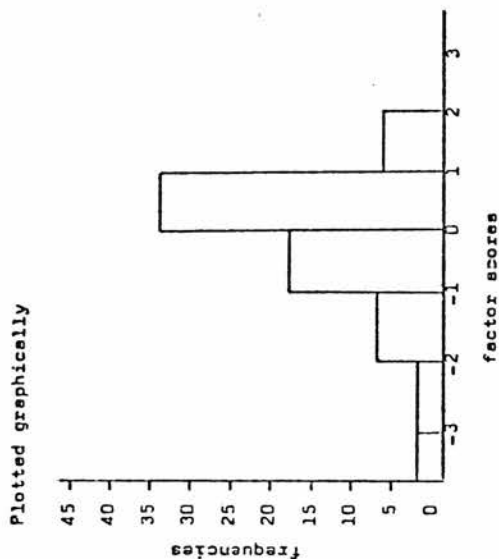
TABLE 68: Frequency distribution of factor scores

e) The Greek Case    N = 67

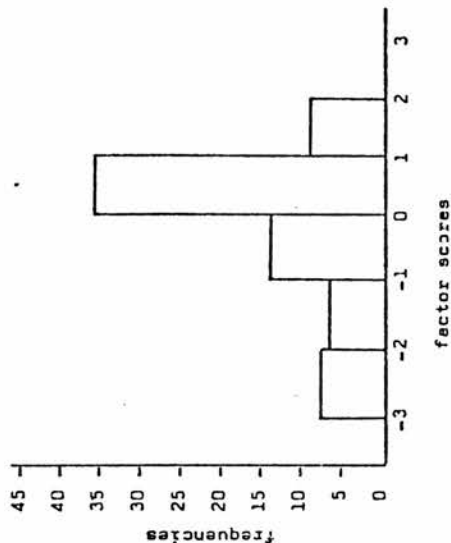
1. Interest

Actual values (frequency 1)

-3.535	-0.262	0.620	
-2.723	-0.296	0.615	
-2.227	-0.098	0.628	Mean    0.00
-2.124	-0.037	0.677	St.dev.    1.00
-1.041	0.106	0.618	Median    0.24
-1.523	0.114	0.756	
-1.232	0.128	0.744	
-1.132	0.166	0.749	
-1.054	0.210	0.750	
-1.005	0.226	0.883	
-0.840	0.240	0.844	
-0.711	0.269	0.922	
-0.542	0.276	0.905	
-0.603	0.344	0.927	
-0.523	0.359	0.929	
-0.501	0.387	1.015	
-0.442	0.420	1.025	
-1.463	0.466	1.153	
-0.367	0.436	1.226	
-0.200	0.533	1.349	
-0.151	0.559	1.603	
-0.592	0.574		
-0.314	0.582		



Plotted graphically



2. Protest

Actual values (frequency 1)

-2.501	-0.127	0.512	
-2.812	-0.058	0.529	Mean    0.00
-2.223	0.003	0.505	St.dev.    1.00
-2.094	0.116	0.653	Median    0.25
-2.029	0.167	0.749	
-2.003	0.162	0.817	
-1.832	0.149	0.828	
-1.558	0.156	0.851	
-1.417	0.104	0.859	
-1.191	0.251	0.843	
-1.446	0.253	0.837	
-0.836	0.260	0.846	
-0.532	0.310	0.937	
-0.701	0.348	1.021	
-1.265	0.407	1.024	
-0.659	0.456	1.111	
-0.511	0.431	1.145	
-0.432	0.455	1.150	
-0.504	0.467	1.320	
-0.225	0.482	1.431	
-0.213	0.490	1.511	
-0.169	0.501		
-0.113	0.500		

### 3. Commitment

Actual values (frequency 1)

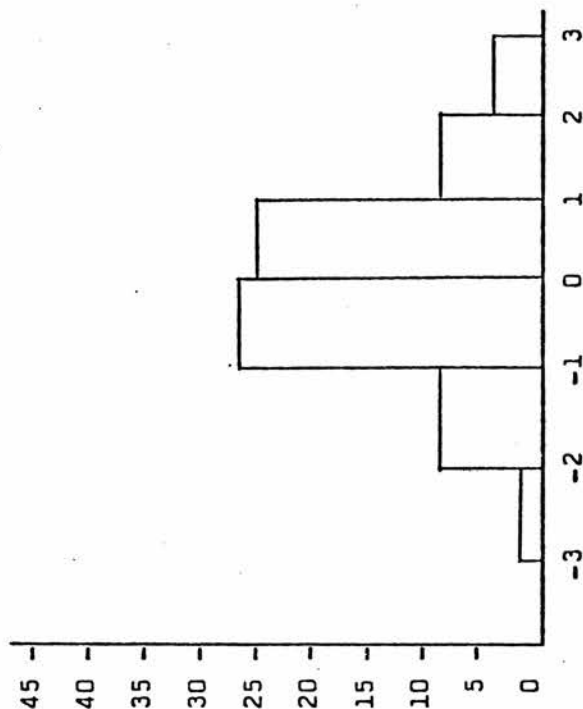
-2.243	-0.492	0.391
-1.875	-0.416	0.432
-1.664	-0.373	0.466
-1.611	-0.335	0.525
-1.255	-0.341	0.640
-1.222	-0.291	0.642
-1.173	-0.245	0.620
-1.143	-0.146	0.712
-1.396	-0.115	0.786
-0.900	-0.153	0.842
-0.947	-0.137	0.957
-0.878	0.161	0.979
-0.857	0.150	1.228
-0.843	0.164	1.503
-0.844	0.208	1.642
-0.829	0.213	1.724
-0.815	0.248	1.833
-0.797	0.267	1.848
-0.791	0.284	1.932
-0.747	0.315	2.037
-0.689	0.357	2.166
-0.673	0.367	
-0.575	0.378	

Mean 0.00

St.dev. 1.00

Median -0.04

Plotted graphically



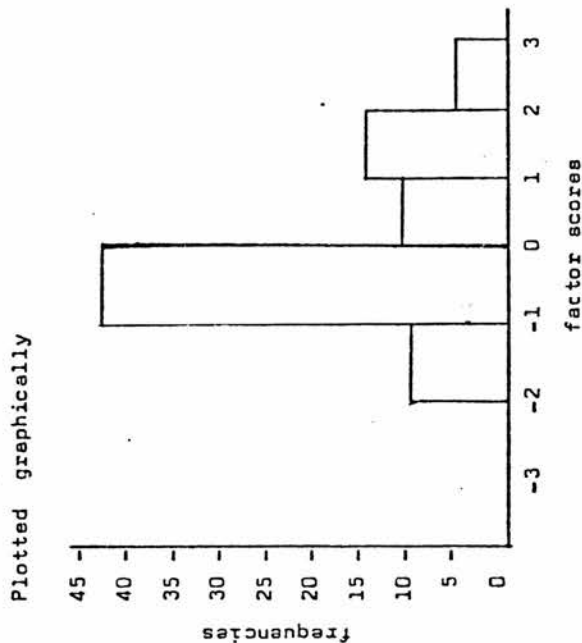
b) The British Case

1. Commitment

Actual values (frequency 1)

-0.345	-0.617	0.325
-1.304	-0.582	0.542
-1.240	-0.556	0.586
-1.092	-0.552	0.605
-1.044	-0.542	0.657
-1.051	-0.506	0.734
-1.040	-0.504	0.789
-1.032	-0.445	1.082
-0.664	-0.440	1.113
-0.521	-0.413	1.198
-0.480	-0.400	1.331
-0.574	-0.398	1.363
-0.853	-0.348	1.375
-0.839	-0.348	1.416
-0.433	-0.324	1.427
-0.632	-0.318	1.473
-0.796	-0.264	1.650
-0.767	-0.230	1.824
-0.756	-0.160	1.828
-0.735	-0.141	1.946
-0.735	-0.141	2.010
-0.708	-0.120	2.056
-0.665	-0.054	2.084
-0.683	-0.036	2.178
-0.685	0.071	
-0.683	0.144	

Mean 0.00  
St.dev. 1.00  
Median -0.40

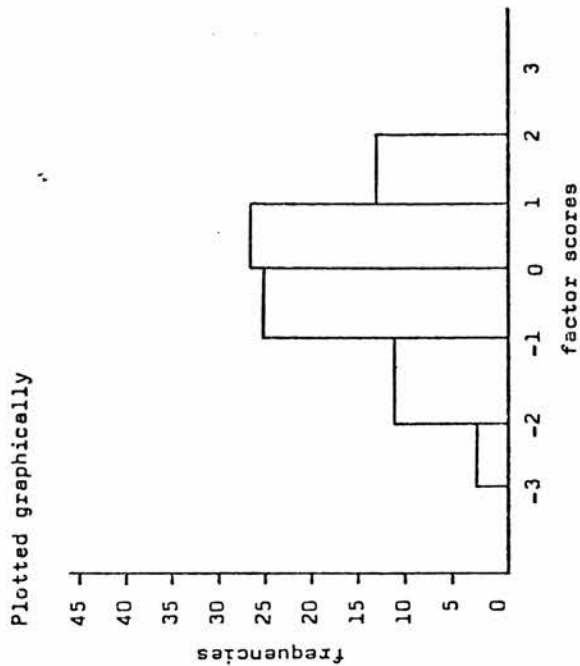


2. Interest

Actual values (frequency 1)

-0.817	-0.486	0.707
-0.731	-0.466	0.704
-1.057	-0.376	0.775
-1.583	-0.205	0.788
-1.507	-0.140	0.790
-1.475	-0.110	0.815
-1.576	-0.096	0.823
-1.732	-0.085	0.831
-1.247	-0.071	0.867
-1.240	-0.063	0.873
-1.154	-0.015	0.911
-1.154	-0.014	0.944
-1.067	0.126	1.032
-0.721	0.179	1.237
-0.500	0.213	1.288
-0.896	0.216	1.288
-0.845	0.200	1.335
-0.483	0.173	1.351
-0.757	0.368	1.360
-0.737	0.404	1.366
-0.694	0.643	1.391
-0.641	0.461	1.548
-0.613	0.516	1.620
-0.565	0.560	1.627
-0.541	0.633	
-0.498	0.698	

Mean 0.00  
St.dev. 1.00  
Median -0.01



### 3. Protest

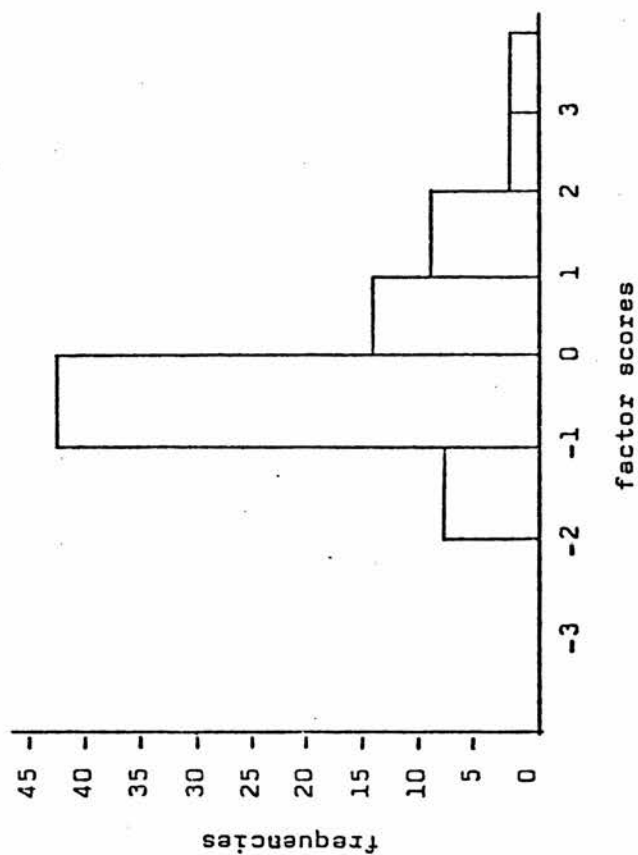
Actual values	(frequency 1)
-1.254	-0.522 0.243
-1.216	-0.500 0.253
-1.079	-0.478 0.311
-1.042	-0.466 0.383
-1.018	-0.451 0.426
-1.016	-0.422 0.450
-1.014	-0.414 0.478
-0.955	-0.412 0.510
-0.945	-0.396 0.653
-0.944	-0.365 0.832
-0.914	-0.351 0.849
-0.894	-0.324 1.139
-0.846	-0.289 1.145
-0.818	-0.272 1.238
-0.816	-0.268 1.284
-0.805	-0.264 1.407
-0.779	-0.237 1.467
-0.772	-0.230 1.455
-0.769	-0.180 1.869
-0.702	-0.091 1.947
-0.660	-0.041 2.003
-0.556	-0.056 2.634
-0.597	-0.010 3.031
-0.583	0.009 3.088
-0.583	0.035
-0.555	0.063

Mean 0.00

St.dev. 1.00

Median -0.32

Plotted graphically



APPENDIX D

FOOTNOTES

1. To strike in the student context means to abstain from classes.

APPENDIX E  
FREQUENCIES

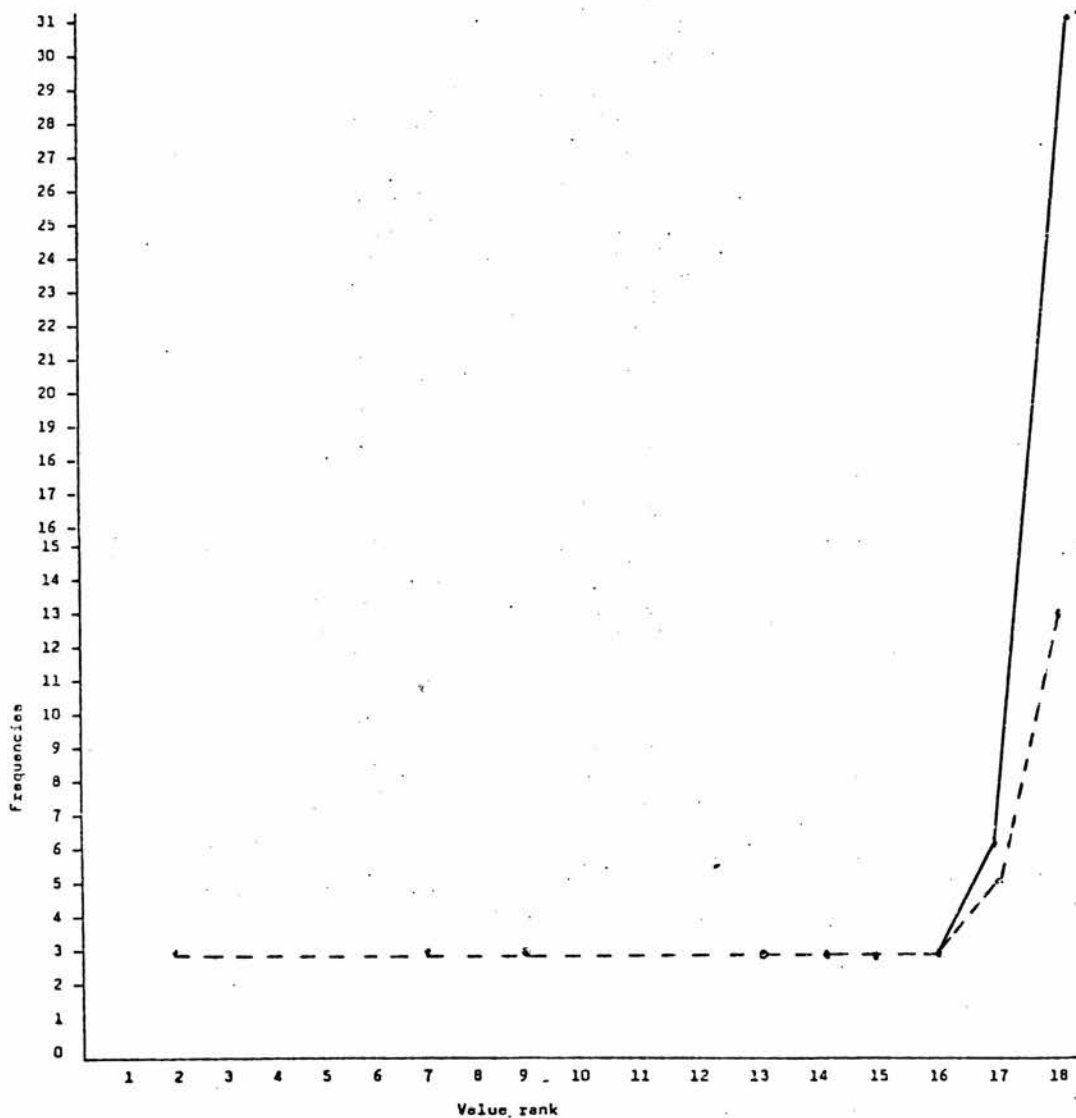
TABLE 69: Frequency distribution of the 29 items of the  
F Scale in the Greek Sample

Items	Mean	Median	Mode	St.error	St.dev.
1	2.30	1.58	1.00	.21	1.75
2	4.64	5.64	6.00	.26	2.14
3	3.15	1.92	1.00	.30	2.43
4	2.82	1.55	1.00	.28	2.33
5	1.45	1.12	1.00	.15	1.20
6	1.69	1.36	1.00	.13	1.10
7	3.64	3.14	1.00	.27	2.18
8	2.21	1.46	1.00	.22	1.80
9	2.95	2.09	1.00	.26	2.12
10	2.90	2.10	1.00	.24	2.00
11	3.40	2.71	1.00	.26	2.13
12	1.73	1.23	1.00	.18	1.47
13	2.75	1.61	1.00	.27	2.23
14	2.72	1.62	1.00	.27	2.21
15	2.79	1.93	1.00	.26	2.10
16	2.15	1.43	1.00	.21	1.76
17	3.13	2.18	1.00	.27	2.21
18	3.42	3.09	1.00	.25	2.04
19	3.43	2.42	2.00	.27	2.18
20	2.67	1.75	1.00	.26	2.10
21	2.72	1.81	1.00	.26	2.14
22	3.60	3.00	2.00	.25	2.07
23	2.82	1.91	1.00	.26	2.10
24	5.18	5.77	6.00	.23	1.89
25	1.95	1.40	1.00	.19	1.54
26	1.39	1.14	1.00	.12	.98
27	3.88	4.58	6.00	.28	2.30
28	1.60	1.21	1.00	.15	1.23
29	4.09	4.85	2.00	.27	2.19



TABLE 70: Frequency distribution of the value "salvation" for protesters and non-protesters in the Greek sample

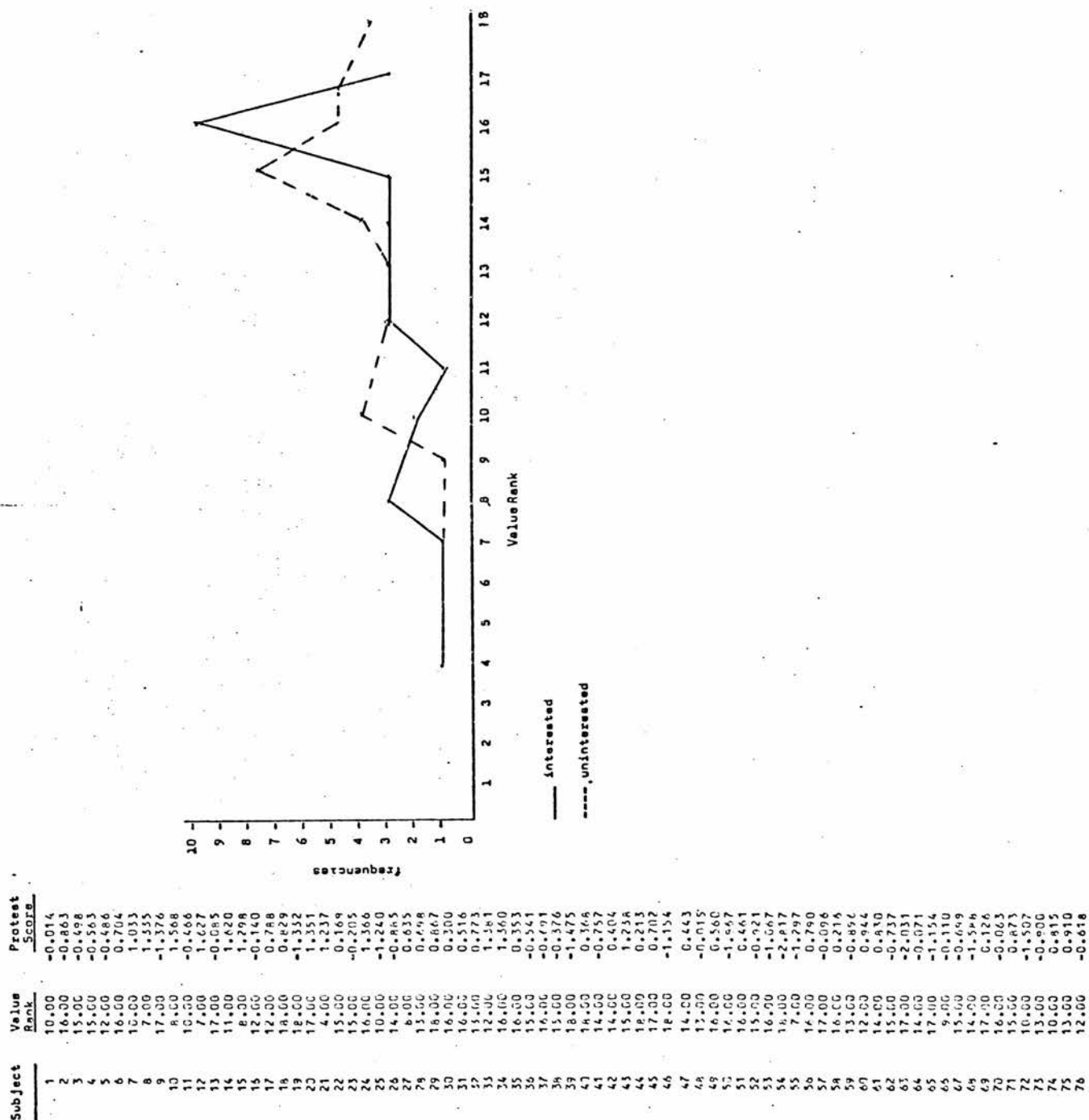
Subject	Value Rank	Protest Score
1	18.00	0.426.
2	18.00	0.455.
3	7.00	-0.701.
4	18.00	1.024.
5	18.00	0.851.
6	18.00	-0.652.
7	17.00	-0.364.
8	18.00	-0.059.
9	9.00	-0.226.
10	17.00	0.162.
11	18.00	-0.212.
12	16.00	0.194.
13	16.00	1.150.
14	18.00	0.513.
15	18.00	0.398.
16	18.00	0.886.
17	18.00	-0.823.
18	17.00	0.231.
19	18.00	1.145.
20	18.00	-1.836.
21	18.00	1.111.
22	18.00	0.260.
23	18.00	0.569.
24	18.00	0.907.
25	18.00	-0.166.
26	17.00	0.487.
27	18.00	-2.003.
28	17.00	0.186.
29	18.00	-0.511.
30	18.00	0.508.
31	18.00	1.431.
32	18.00	0.147.
33	18.00	1.511.
34	18.00	0.867.
35	18.00	0.490.
36	17.00	-0.665.
37	18.00	-1.558.
38	18.00	0.501.
39	18.00	0.838.
40	16.00	-2.318.
41	18.00	0.431.
42	18.00	0.837.
43	18.00	0.595.
44	18.00	0.789.
45	18.00	1.021.
46	14.00	-0.986.
47	18.00	0.169.
48	17.00	-1.186.
49	18.00	-0.127.
50	18.00	0.253.
51	13.00	-0.482.
52	18.00	0.467.
53	18.00	-1.417.
54	15.00	-2.068.
55	17.00	-1.191.
56	18.00	0.407.
57	16.00	0.108.
58	17.00	0.853.
59	17.00	1.320.
60	18.00	0.340.
61	88.00	0.063.
62	88.00	0.858.
63	2.00	-2.029.
64	18.00	-2.229.
65	17.00	-2.501.
66	18.00	0.653.
67	18.00	-0.133.



88 = missing value

—— protesters  
----- non-protesters

TABLE 71: Frequency distribution of the value "social recognition" for interested and uninterested in the British sample



## APPENDIX F

### BACKGROUND DATA

TABLE 72: Correlation matrix of the F Scale

(a) The Greek Case

ITEMS										
	AUT 1	A. 102	AUT03	AUT04	AUT05	AUT06	AUT07	AUT08	AUT09	AL*10
AUT 1	1.00000									
A. 102	0.40601	1.00000								
AUT03	0.41132	0.52825	1.00000							
AUT04	0.41132	0.41132	0.52825	1.00000						
AUT05	0.41132	0.41132	0.52825	0.41132	1.00000					
AUT06	0.41132	0.41132	0.52825	0.41132	0.41132	1.00000				
AUT07	0.41132	0.41132	0.52825	0.41132	0.41132	0.41132	1.00000			
AUT08	0.41132	0.41132	0.52825	0.41132	0.41132	0.41132	0.41132	1.00000		
AUT09	0.41132	0.41132	0.52825	0.41132	0.41132	0.41132	0.41132	0.41132	1.00000	
AL*10	0.41132	0.41132	0.52825	0.41132	0.41132	0.41132	0.41132	0.41132	0.41132	1.00000
AUT 1	0.40601									
A. 102	0.41132	0.52825								
AUT03	0.41132	0.41132	0.52825							
AUT04	0.41132	0.41132	0.52825	0.41132						
AUT05	0.41132	0.41132	0.52825	0.41132	0.41132					
AUT06	0.41132	0.41132	0.52825	0.41132	0.41132	0.41132				
AUT07	0.41132	0.41132	0.52825	0.41132	0.41132	0.41132	0.41132			
AUT08	0.41132	0.41132	0.52825	0.41132	0.41132	0.41132	0.41132	0.41132		
AUT09	0.41132	0.41132	0.52825	0.41132	0.41132	0.41132	0.41132	0.41132	0.41132	
AL*10	0.41132	0.41132	0.52825	0.41132	0.41132	0.41132	0.41132	0.41132	0.41132	0.41132

(b) The British Case

ITEMS	AUT01	AUT02	AUT03	AUT04	AUT05	AUT06	AUT07	AUT08	AUT09	AUT10
AUT 1	1.5000	0.70007	0.19155	0.54344	0.21231	0.23403	0.50136	0.70690	0.25285	0.15117
AUT 2	0.70000	1.00000	-0.00486	0.20344	0.19140	0.15394	0.24494	0.25127	0.17161	0.14382
AUT 3	0.11155	-0.00680	1.00000	0.11265	0.30000	0.24364	0.24494	0.08737	0.09548	-0.01427
AUT 4	0.24344	0.20344	0.15285	1.00000	0.12066	0.17131	0.23149	0.47766	0.38523	0.23201
AUT 5	0.11265	0.11265	0.30000	0.12066	1.00000	0.21410	0.40037	0.14410	-0.01103	0.12711
AUT 6	0.24344	0.15285	0.24344	0.17131	0.21410	1.00000	0.43191	0.12562	0.05726	-0.01455
AUT 7	0.15285	0.15285	0.08737	0.24364	0.40037	0.21410	1.00000	0.32337	0.16524	0.11600
AUT 8	0.08737	0.08737	0.47766	0.47766	0.14410	0.12562	0.32337	1.00000	0.23487	0.15113
AUT 9	0.14382	0.14382	0.09548	0.23201	-0.01103	-0.05455	0.15005	0.05113	1.00000	0.17161
AUT 10	0.23201	0.23201	-0.01427	0.24364	0.12711	-0.01103	-0.00281	0.27121	0.05117	1.00000
AUT 11	0.12711	0.12711	0.05113	0.21410	0.43191	0.12562	0.32337	0.32337	0.23487	0.15113
AUT 12	0.05726	0.05726	0.11600	0.24364	0.40037	-0.05455	0.15005	0.05113	1.00000	0.17161
AUT 13	0.11600	0.11600	0.23487	0.24364	0.32337	-0.01103	-0.00281	0.27121	0.05117	1.00000
AUT 14	0.15113	0.15113	0.17161	0.24364	0.43191	0.12562	0.32337	0.32337	0.23487	0.15113
AUT 15	0.17161	0.17161	0.14382	0.24364	0.40037	0.12562	0.32337	0.32337	0.23487	0.15113
AUT 16	0.14382	0.14382	0.09548	0.24364	0.40037	0.12562	0.32337	0.32337	0.23487	0.15113
AUT 17	0.09548	0.09548	0.47766	0.24364	0.40037	0.12562	0.32337	0.32337	0.23487	0.15113
AUT 18	0.05113	0.05113	0.11600	0.24364	0.40037	0.12562	0.32337	0.32337	0.23487	0.15113
AUT 19	0.01427	0.01427	0.05113	0.24364	0.40037	0.12562	0.32337	0.32337	0.23487	0.15113
AUT 20	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.24364	0.40037	0.12562	0.32337	0.32337	0.23487	0.15113
AUT 21	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.24364	0.40037	0.12562	0.32337	0.32337	0.23487	0.15113
AUT 22	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.24364	0.40037	0.12562	0.32337	0.32337	0.23487	0.15113
AUT 23	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.24364	0.40037	0.12562	0.32337	0.32337	0.23487	0.15113
AUT 24	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.24364	0.40037	0.12562	0.32337	0.32337	0.23487	0.15113
AUT 25	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.24364	0.40037	0.12562	0.32337	0.32337	0.23487	0.15113
AUT 26	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.24364	0.40037	0.12562	0.32337	0.32337	0.23487	0.15113
AUT 27	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.24364	0.40037	0.12562	0.32337	0.32337	0.23487	0.15113
AUT 28	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.24364	0.40037	0.12562	0.32337	0.32337	0.23487	0.15113
AUT 29	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.24364	0.40037	0.12562	0.32337	0.32337	0.23487	0.15113
AUT 30	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.24364	0.40037	0.12562	0.32337	0.32337	0.23487	0.15113

TABLE 73: Correlation matrix of the R-C Scale

(a) The Greek Case

ITEMS	RC01	RC12	RC03	RC04	RC05	RC06	RC07	RC08	RC09	RC10
RC01	1.00000									
RC02	0.41430	1.00000								
RC03	0.39816	0.39816	1.00000							
RC04	0.42264	0.42264	0.20542	1.00000						
RC05	0.55553	0.26911	0.46654	0.26911	1.00000					
RC06	0.29216	0.36073	0.37106	0.60450	0.37078	1.00000				
RC07	0.35741	0.39154	0.55149	0.44047	0.74648	0.25502	1.00000			
RC08	0.35537	0.54662	0.55351	0.45301	0.74822	0.60357	0.57798	1.00000		
RC09	0.13242	-0.2254	0.26043	0.21681	0.41776	0.25531	0.36767	1.00000		
RC10	0.37438	0.42353	0.40521	0.15000	0.32079	0.26695	0.22194	0.26665	1.00000	
RC11	0.37366	0.30919	0.62886	-0.04370	-0.05580	-0.01293	-0.14827	-0.01292	-0.07450	1.00000
RC12	0.35768	0.30770	0.45776	0.41345	0.67007	0.67325	0.46320	0.50767	0.45564	0.31169
RC13	0.47860	0.35268	0.46856	0.10617	0.24542	0.07442	0.23565	0.26437	0.44375	0.37775
RC14	0.25414	0.19988	0.50778	0.21273	0.44608	0.31774	0.52292	0.74232	0.48744	0.25456
RC15	0.30700	0.27570	0.53379	0.50361	0.36092	0.64008				
RC16	0.45553	0.33007	0.10417	0.21233	0.41774					
RC17	0.31293	0.42325	0.07442	0.52282	0.74232					
RC18	0.34627	0.46320	0.23565	0.52282	0.74232					
RC19	0.01392	0.50767	0.25532	0.74232	0.74232					
RC20	0.07450	0.45564	0.08175	0.14744	0.14744					
RC21	0.21127	0.31009	0.53375	0.36450	0.36450					
RC22	1.00000	-0.27460	0.18167	0.07865	0.07865					
RC23	0.20000	1.00000	0.21528	0.75172	0.75172					
RC24	0.14167	0.21528	1.00000	0.52593	0.52593					
RC25	0.07365	0.27460	0.52593	1.00000	1.00000					

## ITEMS

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TABLE 74: Correlation matrix of the concept "my family"

## (a) The Greek Case

	SDA01	SDA02	SDA03	SDA04	SDA05	SDA06	SDA07	SDA08	SDA09	SDA10
SDA01	1.00000	0.40416	0.47039	0.48473	-0.03111	0.42598	-0.41905	0.52891	0.23517	-0.20780
SDA02	0.40416	1.00000	0.70727	0.24955	-0.24242	0.48322	-0.58934	0.43116	-0.28952	-0.27451
SDA03	0.47039	0.70727	1.00000	0.37969	-0.17335	0.52441	-0.41695	0.41134	-0.23398	-0.20345
SDA04	0.48473	0.24955	0.37969	1.00000	0.05318	0.25516	-0.14377	0.26403	0.11729	-0.16661
SDA05	-0.03111	-0.24242	-0.17335	0.05318	1.00000	-0.18637	0.43267	-0.13281	0.41376	-0.35691
SDA06	0.42598	0.48322	0.52441	0.25516	-0.18637	1.00000	-0.58788	-0.64978	-0.32661	-0.35666
SDA07	-0.41905	-0.58934	-0.41695	-0.14377	0.43267	-0.58788	1.00000	-0.61810	-0.31135	-0.31858
SDA08	0.52891	0.43116	0.41134	0.29483	-0.13281	-0.64978	-0.61810	1.00000	0.31135	-0.31858
SDA09	0.23517	-0.28952	-0.23398	0.11729	0.41376	-0.32661	0.42760	-0.31135	1.00000	0.52308
SDA10	-0.20780	-0.27451	-0.20345	-0.16661	0.35691	-0.35666	0.49661	-0.31858	0.52308	1.00000

## (b) The British Case

	SDA01	SDA02	SDA03	SDA04	SDA05	SDA06	SDA07	SDA08	SDA09	SDA10
SDA01	1.00000	0.56708	0.50762	0.54615	0.09314	0.33997	-0.28926	0.28097	0.30676	-0.06148
SDA02	0.56708	1.00000	0.65873	0.59311	0.05248	0.44954	-0.28212	0.15275	0.11347	-0.33268
SDA03	0.50762	0.65873	1.00000	0.51394	-0.10484	0.55468	-0.45964	0.36759	0.04329	-0.35477
SDA04	0.54615	0.59311	0.51394	1.00000	0.00106	0.43106	-0.63853	0.34364	0.14087	-0.36177
SDA05	0.09314	0.05248	-0.10484	0.00106	1.00000	-0.30488	0.21273	-0.18889	0.25972	-0.32658
SDA06	0.33997	0.44954	0.55468	0.43106	-0.30488	1.00000	-0.41411	0.15337	0.05845	-0.216937
SDA07	-0.28926	-0.28212	-0.45964	-0.63853	0.21273	-0.41411	1.00000	-0.32379	0.17228	-0.30566
SDA08	0.28097	0.15275	0.36759	0.34364	-0.18889	0.15337	-0.32379	1.00000	0.21194	-0.20813
SDA09	0.30676	0.11347	0.04329	0.14087	0.25972	0.05845	0.17228	0.21194	1.00000	0.15825
SDA10	-0.06148	-0.33268	-0.35477	0.36177	-0.32658	-0.216937	-0.30566	-0.20813	0.15825	1.00000

TABLE 75: Correlation matrix of the concept "political participation"

## (a) The Greek Case

	SDH01	SDH02	SDH03	SDH04	SDH05	SDH06	SDH07	SDH08	SDH09	SDH10
SDH01	1.00000	0.24687	0.28638	0.82686	0.09336	0.03435	-0.10638	0.49091	0.22126	-0.06620
SDH02	0.24687	1.00000	0.70396	0.30687	-0.18541	0.27164	-0.32630	0.30888	-0.08746	0.00185
SDH03	0.28638	0.70396	1.00000	0.28216	-0.10411	0.22292	-0.18393	0.23821	0.02660	0.06470
SDH04	0.82686	0.30687	0.28216	1.00000	-0.09846	0.18729	-0.18879	0.60326	0.21625	-0.02696
SDH05	0.09336	-0.18541	-0.10411	-0.09846	1.00000	-0.41881	0.45995	-0.05804	0.36763	0.06085
SDH06	0.03435	0.27164	0.22292	0.18729	-0.41881	1.00000	-0.31417	0.23343	-0.03213	-0.13471
SDH07	-0.10638	-0.32630	-0.18393	-0.18879	0.45995	-0.31417	1.00000	-0.25423	0.25479	0.12671
SDH08	0.49091	0.30888	0.23821	0.60326	-0.05804	0.23343	-0.25423	1.00000	0.20336	-0.14741
SDH09	0.22126	-0.08746	0.02660	0.21625	0.36763	-0.03213	0.25479	0.20336	1.00000	0.36351
SDH10	-0.06620	0.00185	0.06470	-0.02696	0.06085	-0.13471	0.12671	-0.14741	0.36351	1.00000

## (b) The British Case

	SDH01	SDH02	SDH03	SDH04	SDH05	SDH06	SDH07	SDH08	SDH09	SDH10
SDH01	1.00000	0.21806	0.43035	0.82763	0.03638	0.27256	0.18101	0.55321	0.32750	0.16406
SDH02	0.21806	1.00000	0.72760	0.15394	-0.07653	0.48357	-0.47379	0.22590	-0.35348	-0.22975
SDH03	0.43035	0.72760	1.00000	0.36335	-0.19185	0.51486	-0.26867	0.42411	-0.16103	-0.16442
SDH04	0.82763	0.15394	0.36335	1.00000	0.07302	0.14137	-0.22471	0.57086	0.40704	0.21399
SDH05	0.03638	-0.07653	-0.19185	0.07302	1.00000	-0.43368	-0.01718	0.35059	0.31776	-0.30231
SDH06	0.27256	0.48357	0.51486	0.21437	-0.43368	1.00000	-0.47287	0.33502	-0.20599	-0.30231
SDH07	0.18101	-0.47379	-0.26867	0.22471	-0.01718	-0.47287	1.00000	-0.16453	0.60013	0.56552
SDH08	0.55321	0.22590	0.42411	0.57086	-0.01718	-0.47287	-0.16453	1.00000	0.58408	0.58779
SDH09	0.32750	-0.35348	-0.16103	0.40704	0.31776	0.33502	0.60013	0.58408	1.00000	0.57664
SDH10	0.16406	-0.22975	-0.16442	0.21399	-0.30231	-0.30231	0.60013	0.58779	0.57664	1.00000





TABLE 77: Mean, standard deviation and correlation matrix of all the variables entering the regression analysis, in the British sample

VARIABLE	MEAN	ST.DEV.	Commitment	Interest	Protest	Age	Pol. Perc.(1)	Pol. Perc.(2)	Pol. Perc.(3)	Pol. Perc.(4)	Class att.	Gen.act.	Author.	Rad.	Extern.	Family eval.	Fam. dyn.	Father eval.	Self eval.	Mother eval.	Self-fidif.	Self-Moridif.	Eval. p.p.	Dynam. p.p.
Commitment	0.0000	1.0000																						
Interest	0.0000	1.0000	0.0000																					
Protest	0.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000																				
Age	1.766	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000																			
Political Participation(1)	1.766	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000																		
" (2)	1.766	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000																	
" (3)	1.766	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000																
" (4)	1.766	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000															
Class attendance	1.766	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000														
General activities	1.766	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000													
Authoritarianism	1.766	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000												
Radicalism	1.766	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000											
Externality	1.766	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000										
Family-evaluation	1.766	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000									
Self-evaluation	1.766	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000								
Father-evaluation	1.766	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000							
Self-evaluation	1.766	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000						
Self-father difference	1.766	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000					
Self-mother difference	1.766	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000				
Evaluation of pol.pert.	1.766	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000			
Dynamism	1.766	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000		

TABLE 78: Mean and standard deviation of the independent variables discriminating between the factors of political activism in the Greek sample

VARIABLE	Interest (N=13)		Protest (N=16)		Interest (N=21)		Commitment (N=14)		Protest (N=17)		Commitment (N=8)	
	Mean	St.dev.	Mean	St.dev.	Mean	St.dev.	Mean	St.dev.	Mean	St.dev.	Mean	St.dev.
Gender	1.3571	0.4672	1.5000	0.5164	1.3333	0.4430	1.3571	0.4972	1.5294	0.5145	1.5000	0.5345
Age	2.2143	0.4258	2.3125	0.4787	2.2381	0.4364	2.2143	0.4258	2.2753	0.4272	2.0000	0.0
Type of study	1.4286	0.5336	1.3125	0.4787	1.5238	0.5118	1.5271	0.4972	1.4706	0.5145	1.5750	0.5175
Father's occupation	2.0000	0.5547	2.3125	0.6021	2.2381	0.6295	2.4286	0.5336	2.5294	0.5294	2.6250	0.5175
Political perception (1)	6.6429	0.6333	7.0000	0.0	6.8095	0.5118	6.8571	0.5336	6.9412	0.5294	6.5000	0.7534
" (2)	3.9286	2.4226	5.2500	1.8777	5.0532	2.2339	5.1429	1.8752	5.8824	1.5765	4.5000	2.2678
" (3)	5.7857	1.7619	5.0625	2.0156	4.8571	2.8866	4.8571	2.0702	4.7647	2.5088	5.8750	1.4577
" (4)	5.9286	1.5915	5.2500	2.1756	5.3333	2.0817	5.7143	1.6838	4.8824	2.3421	6.2500	0.7071
Class attendance	2.9286	0.7331	2.6875	0.7042	2.6667	0.8564	2.7143	0.7263	2.5294	0.7598	2.8750	0.6404
General activities	13.2143	2.3592	12.1875	2.1975	12.1429	2.3513	12.7143	2.3074	10.9412	1.8665	12.3750	3.0208
Authoritarianism	95.0714	37.0727	81.0625	21.8219	75.7143	28.8083	85.8571	31.4150	71.7647	22.3958	108.2500	43.1037
Radicalism	68.5000	20.0935	84.6375	6.4164	81.1905	16.9813	81.0714	10.6446	88.0000	6.8238	66.7500	17.8846
Externality	7.8571	3.8032	7.5625	4.2735	6.8571	4.0901	7.7857	4.2095	7.3529	4.2565	9.8750	2.7454
Family-evaluation	22.1429	3.1633	21.2500	5.0925	20.2857	4.7344	21.7857	4.5095	19.2941	5.4172	22.1250	3.7201
Family-dynamism	10.5000	5.1633	12.2500	6.3291	12.3333	5.0630	10.2857	5.1654	14.2941	5.4172	9.8750	4.8237
Self-evaluation	4.0240	2.0935	5.7029	3.0291	4.9333	2.7927	5.4015	2.8894	5.5365	2.7375	3.8886	2.2825
Mother-evaluation	4.6881	1.7358	4.9675	1.6768	4.8268	1.4957	4.8268	1.6759	5.1149	1.5077	4.9440	1.4450
Self-father difference	5.1818	2.2232	5.2963	3.2082	6.0429	2.5115	5.5363	2.0038	6.3962	3.6786	5.8958	2.7118
Self-mother	5.5476	2.4944	5.3098	2.2046	5.8995	2.4914	4.9127	2.0403	5.7877	2.5320	4.5197	2.2545
Evaluation of pol. part.	5.6524	3.5259	4.9911	2.5485	6.0400	3.0974	4.8949	1.7879	5.8053	2.8512	4.9568	2.3435
Dynamism	22.1429	4.8053	21.6250	4.1773	22.7619	4.2179	21.2143	3.6613	23.0000	3.3166	21.7500	2.6592
	14.0000	5.5747	18.0000	3.2249	17.2381	5.5128	17.1429	2.5072	19.4706	3.9863	14.6250	4.5336

VARIABLE	Interest (N=10)		Commitment (N=4)		Interest (N=11)		Commitment (N=10)	
	Mean	St.dev.	Mean	St.dev.	Mean	St.dev.	Mean	St.dev.
Gender	1.3000	0.4420	1.5000	0.5774	1.3636	0.5045	1.3000	0.4830
Age	2.3000	0.4821	2.0000	0.0	2.1818	0.4045	2.3000	0.4831
Type of study	1.4000	0.5124	1.2500	0.5000	1.6264	0.5045	1.4000	0.5164
Father's occupation	1.6000	0.4216	2.7500	0.5000	2.6264	0.5045	2.3000	0.4831
Political perception (1)	6.7000	0.4790	6.5000	1.0710	6.9091	0.3016	7.0000	0.0
" (2)	3.7000	2.5638	4.5000	2.166	3.8182	0.6742	5.4000	1.6466
" (3)	6.7000	1.6757	6.5000	1.9900	6.8182	2.2279	4.2000	2.0440
" (4)	5.5000	1.9720	6.5000	0.7774	4.8182	2.2279	5.4000	1.9374
Class attendance	13.0000	4.8125	12.0000	0.0165	12.3636	0.8090	13.0000	0.6992
General activities	13.0000	1.9511	12.0000	2.3439	11.0000	2.1448	13.0000	2.2111
Authoritarianism	91.0000	31.5749	111.2500	35.1440	61.8182	17.4540	75.7000	22.6621
Radicalism	72.3000	20.3646	71.5000	15.7526	89.2727	7.3092	85.7000	7.4694
Externality	7.2000	4.5646	11.7500	2.6229	18.8182	5.4004	21.9000	4.7947
Family-evaluation	21.0000	3.4435	10.2000	4.5894	13.6364	4.2491	10.3000	5.0564
Family-dynamism	10.0000	5.7038	10.2000	6.2223	5.4282	2.6800	5.6282	3.1704
Father-evaluation	4.8975	2.0171	4.7072	1.5409	4.8182	1.4732	4.5435	1.6854
Self-evaluation	4.2773	2.0980	5.6761	1.5676	6.4545	2.0353	4.7050	1.5657
Self-father difference	5.557	2.0000	7.6076	1.5577	5.4545	2.8579	4.457	2.2222
Self-mother	6.3429	2.0713	5.4011	1.1444	5.4545	2.4567	4.2770	1.7365
Evaluation of pol. part.	6.4738	3.0534	6.1000	0.7724	6.6364	2.4608	21.5000	4.1566
Dynamism	21.0000	5.5538	20.5000	1.0344	23.6364	2.4608	21.5000	4.1566
	14.0000	5.4365	15.2500	0.9574	20.1818	3.7636	17.9000	2.5583



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## B I B L I O G R A P H Y

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## THE SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALES

1.	strong	- weak	P
2.	friendly	- hostile	E
3.	pleasant	- unpleasant	E
4.	active	- passive	A
5.	dangerous	- harmless	P
6.	fair	- unfair	E
7.	belligerent	- peaceful	A
8.	successful	- unsuccessful	E
9.	hard	- soft	P
10.	excitable	- calm	A

## THE POLITICAL ACTIVITY INDEX

1. Reads the newspapers
2. Listens to the news
3. Listens to foreign broadcasts / Participates in student body action\*
4. Relies on external support for own political ideas
5. Discusses politics in family
6. Discusses politics with friends
7. Finds political discussions interesting
8. Tries to convince others of own political ideas
9. Has been asked to offer advice on political issues
10. Gets as excited about politics as for personal matters
11. Is interested in politics
12. Attends meetings of political discussions or speeches
13. Works for a political organization
14. Is active in politics
15. Takes part in marches
16. Takes part in demonstrations
17. Takes part in strikes
18. Distributes political literature
19. Has a responsible role in some political event
20. Attends student meetings / political club meetings\*

\* the first part of the item has been used in the Greek questionnaire,  
while the second part has been used in the British questionnaire.